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and Catering

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Foreword

The effect of staff or labour turnover on the efficiency of firms is widely recognised throughout industry. In the study carried out by the EDC into labour turnover in the hotel and catering industry, the majority of managers interviewed believed that high labour turnover had harmful effects on efficiency. Frequent changes of staff can adversely affect the quality of the men and women employed, their sense of pride in the skilled work performed and their identification with the future of their industry. In a service industry such as hotels and catering, these adverse effects can be particularly damaging.

This booklet reproduces the findings of a labour turnover study, carried out for the EDC by the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations and based on thirty-three hotel and catering establishments. The sample of establishments studied is not statistically representative of the hotel and catering industry as a whole and the findings may not, therefore, apply to all types of firms and establishments. But we believe that many individual managers will recognise the symptoms described and will discover in the study some useful pointers to ways of tackling labour turnover problems.

Much more work on labour turnover in the industry remains to be done. There is a need for industry-wide statistical comparisons; for further research and experiment by firms and establishments into ways of reducing labour turnover; and for study in depth of ways by which attitudes may be modified by education and training. The action proposed by the EDC is set out in Part 3.

We should consider it regrettable if the findings of this study were used to direct destructive criticism at an industry which is by no means unique in experiencing labour turnover problems and which has its own particular difficulties arising from the close contact between staff and customers and in providing a service at times when many other industries, including service industries, are not working. Our aim is to encourage management and staff in the hotel and catering industry to examine their record of labour turnover and, where appropriate, to apply the correctives. We believe that they can take heart from the evidence that high labour turnover is not inevitable, since some firms have been strikingly more successful than others in coping with the problem. We also look to the schemes under development by the Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board and others to remedy some of the basic causes.

**Sir William Swallow
Chairman
Hotel and Catering EDC**

Preface

Labour turnover is the term used to describe the movement of staff into and out of employment with a firm. It is generally recognised that high labour turnover is damaging to a firm and reduces profitability and the quality of the product and service. High labour turnover may also indicate that workers may not be content in their relations with management or with their conditions of employment.

National statistics of labour turnover in manufacturing industry are collected, on a sample basis, and published by the Department of Employment and Productivity. In 1967 these figures indicated an annual national rate of turnover for manufacturing industry of 35 per cent, 29 per cent for men and 48 per cent for women.

There are no industry-wide labour turnover statistics for hotels and catering. On the limited evidence available the Hotel and Catering SDC concluded early in its life that labour turnover was high in some sectors of the industry. The belief was strengthened by the results of an enquiry carried out by the Centre for Inter-Hotel Comparison, University of Surrey, in the period 6 April 1965 to 5 April 1966. Labour turnover recorded in this study was 97 per cent in seasonal hotels, 131 per cent in non-seasonal hotels and 172 per cent in London hotels.

We were disturbed by these figures. However, we were not in a position to form a view on the extent of high labour turnover, still less to identify causes and remedies. We were also aware that some managements regard high turnover as a regrettable 'fact of life' about which they can do nothing, while others argue that it is not a matter of great concern. We decided to commission a study by the Centre for Applied Social Research of the Tavistock Institute of Human Relations* to provide the data and other information on which we could make a judgment on these matters.

It is usually our practice to reproduce study findings in full, no matter how controversial, and to set out separately our own comments. It is then possible for readers to reach their own conclusions on the basis of the evidence. In this way, rational discussion of important issues can take place. In this case we have not published the Tavistock Institute study report in the form in which we received it. Some condensation and rearrangement of the report has been necessary.

In the Introduction we give the terms of reference for the study, and information on its coverage of the industry, research method, and the response of firms and establishments approached. Part 2 summarises the study conclusions. Our own views on the study and the action we have taken are set out in Part 3. Measurement of labour turnover is discussed in Part 4. In Part 5 we have condensed and described the main findings from the study and we have summarised some of the consultants' recommendations in Part 6.

* The project leader of the study was Mr J M M Hill

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1 Introduction

Terms of reference

The main aim of the study was to provide factual information on rates of labour turnover and the attitudes of staff and managements with a view to identifying ways in which turnover could be reduced. We were also interested in developing methods of recording labour turnover so that firms could study their own performance and so be encouraged to participate in systematic inter-firm comparison.

More specifically the objects of the study may be summarised as follows:

- (a) To establish and examine labour turnover statistics in selected firms.
- (b) To identify the main factors which attract or deter recruits from joining the industry and the main forces which impinge upon new entrants to the industry and affect their length of employment.
- (c) To determine the effects of labour turnover on costs for particular types of establishment in the industry.
- (d) To establish in general the cost benefits, *i.e.*, the cost savings less the cost of remedial action, that would result for types of establishment by taking action to reduce labour turnover.
- (e) To develop and propose methods of recording labour turnover which could become recommended standard practice throughout the industry and enable inter-unit comparisons to be made.

Coverage of the industry

The study did not attempt to cover a nationally representative sample of firms. Statistically representative information on labour turnover would be valuable, but as a first step we believed it to be more important to establish a better understanding of the factors involved in labour turnover in the industry. We based the study on a number of firms and establishments in the industry, selected both for their willingness to participate and because they were broadly typical of certain main categories.

Considerable thought was given by the consultants and ourselves to the sectors of the industry to be studied and the type and number of establishments to be included in each sector. As a result of these discussions it was decided to carry out case studies in twenty-one establishments and to conduct a series of less intensive investigations in a further twelve units so as to widen our knowledge of variations between establishments in the main categories.

The establishments studied and the extent to which information was made available are categorised in Table 1.

Table 1 The extent to which information was made available by the 33 establishments studied

Category of establishment	Number	Numbers providing		Total number of interviews
		Data	Interviews	
Hotels	17	14	14	123
Industrial catering				
Contract factory	1	1	1	3
office	1	1	1	4
Direct factory	1	1	1	9
office	1	1	1	8
Public houses	6	3	6	27
Restaurants	2	1	2	15
Snack bars	4	2	4	15
Total	33	24	30	204

It can be seen from this categorisation that the establishments selected in each sector are not proportional to the numbers employed in that sector as a proportion of the industry's total labour force; on a proportional basis we would have selected fewer hotels and more canteens and restaurants. Our selection took account of the belief that labour turnover was a more serious problem in some sectors than others and that the sectors most affected should occupy proportionately more of the study.

The establishments studied were in London, the home counties and in other areas of the country. The exact location for each establishment was not laid down in advance but was discussed with the consultants at intervals throughout the project. In particular, establishments outside London were selected from areas where labour was relatively more plentiful, so as to provide a contrast to the situation of alleged labour scarcity in London. Thus apart from London, establishments were visited in Buckinghamshire, Cheshire, County Durham, Essex, Lanarkshire, Lancashire, Midlothian, Northumberland, Surrey, Sussex and Warwickshire. In terms of size units varied from under ten to over a thousand employees.

Research method

The study began with an examination of the documentary records of large companies that possessed data and then moved on to consider the extent to which the findings also applied to smaller units. Consequently, at the outset the collaboration of several large organisations was invited. The work carried out with them was both quantitative and qualitative, involving both intensive interviews and discussions.

Where possible this work comprised four main phases. First, there was an initial discussion, usually with the owner or manager to ascertain the extent to which and the way in which labour turnover was experienced as a problem. The kind of staff records that were kept and methods of recruitment, induction and training were also examined.

Secondly, staff records were analysed wherever they were kept in a suitable form. The details of this analysis are described in a later section. Particular stress was given to following up the records of all those employees entering the organisation in a given year until the time they left.

Thirdly, a series of intensive interviews was carried out, both with managers and others directly in charge of staff and with non-managerial workers at various stages of employment. These interviews included recently employed staff as well as those who had worked with the firm for many years. One of the objects of the interviews was to obtain a detailed impression of the influences which caused employees to join the hotel and catering industry or particular firms within it, the kind of forces which impinged on staff while in employment, and which caused people to leave either the individual firm or the industry as a whole.

Fourthly, the results of both statistical analysis (where this proved possible) and findings from interviews were brought together and discussed with the firms concerned.

Once the consultants had formed a view of the main causes of labour turnover in these larger establishments a series of discussions and interviews in small organisations was carried out to examine the extent to which factors influencing employment tended to vary by size of organisation. Consideration was also given at this stage to ways of recording labour turnover which would enable inter-unit comparisons to be made by both large and small establishments.

A further important question posed by the consultants was whether the industry saw itself and was seen by others to be an industry that offered continuous career employment; or alternatively, whether employment was seen by employees to be only an interlude in a pattern of employment in other industries.

The cost of labour turnover was discussed with management during the first and fourth phases set out above, and an assessment was made of the extent to which the kind of financial records already kept by individual establishments enabled some assessment of the cost of labour turnover to be made. During the third phase, *i.e.* in the course of the interviews with staff, the impact of labour turnover on the effectiveness of establishments was examined and the feasibility of costing this impact and hence of finding the cost of labour turnover to the establishment in question was also assessed. The costs of remedial action that could be taken by the firm were also considered.

One of the wider aspects of the problem that was examined was the extent to which the smaller organisation, as opposed to the larger, might find itself in difficulties in recruiting staff.

Finally, consideration was given to whether a distinction could be drawn between the labour turnover experienced by the industry as a whole and that experienced by the firm.

Response to the study

The response to our study by the firms and establishments approached varied greatly. Some managers were keen to take part and expressed the view that a study of this kind was long overdue. The success of the study owes much to their co-operation. Individuals and firms were assured that any publication of the results would be in accordance with the confidential nature of the information provided and would not identify respondents. Consequently, we are not

able to thank by name in this booklet those respondents who made available all the facilities requested by the consultants, including the collection of data and interviews with the staff. Some of the establishments offering this whole-hearted co-operation were small and the gathering of data and arrangements to conduct intensive interviews with staff often inconvenient to their managers.

At the other extreme the consultants were confronted with arbitrary and peremptory refusals to have anything whatsoever to do with the project. Unwillingness to participate was not related to the size or reputation of firms and establishments or the quality of the service provided.

Between the two extremes there was a mixed response. Some managers agreed to meet the consultants but either refused permission to interview their staff or expressed great uneasiness at the suggestion. Some managements thought that their staff would not be able to make a worthwhile contribution to the study. Others believed that the consultants could not possess the experience to obtain useful information about the industry from such interviews. Some managements expressed the belief that staff would be disturbed by interviews; for example, that they might confuse the purpose of the visit and believe that the consultants were investigating some kind of irregularity such as tax evasion.

Consultants are of course accustomed to difficulties in approaching persons and firms with a view to participating in studies and are knowledgeable in their approach to the problems. Such approaches usually produce an initial anxiety, but this anxiety was noticeably greater in hotel and catering than in other industries studied by the Tavistock Institute.

Those managers who were most willing to participate were usually responsible for an establishment with a low level of labour turnover or were most capable of coping with the labour turnover problem. Managers expressing the greatest unease about the disturbing effects of the study tended to have the most severe labour turnover problem.



On the whole, relatively few managers believed that they could obtain knowledge from the investigation. This again represents a contrast to experience of work in other industries where, in carrying out this kind of project, the Tavistock Institute is usually treated as expert in the field and therefore potentially able to contribute to the solution of the problem examined. In the firms visited not only was the use of consultants in the sphere of organisation or social relationships relatively rare, but there was a general belief that anyone outside the industry, or outside the particular establishment concerned, could not have anything to contribute. Even those managers who offered close collaboration and courtesy tended to convey an attitude of polite scepticism. Thus only rarely were the consultants asked for their views about the problem and in only a few cases did they find themselves being drawn into a mutually exploratory discussion in which alternative methods of recruiting, selecting, employing or managing staff could be examined by the manager concerned with a view to making effective changes.

2 Summary of conclusions

Statistics (page 17)

Statistics were difficult to collect and there is no universal standard of record keeping in the industry. However, it was possible to collect meaningful statistics for most establishments studied, even from small organisations.

Inter-unit comparisons could be made on the basis of these figures.

Measurement (pages 12-15)

No single measure of the labour turnover process in hotel and catering is wholly satisfactory. Three measures are required:

- (a) The survival curve, measuring the capacity of the unit to retain its entrants.
- (b) The labour turnover rate, measuring the rate at which leavings occur as a proportion of the total staff employed by the unit.
- (c) The length of service distribution, showing the relative success with which the organisation has built up a stable group of long term employees.

Taken together, these three measures can yield information which gives a labour turnover profile for the establishment. For purposes of detailed comparison with establishments of similar type, other supplementary data may be needed.

The most useful single measure is the survival curve. This curve shows that there are three broadly distinct phases of employment experienced by an employee:

- (a) A period of *induction crisis* when the employee first joins a new unit.
- (b) A period of *differential transit* during which he learns more about the unit and judges how far and for how long he has a place in it.
- (c) A period of *settled connection* during which he becomes an established member of the staff.

Of course, all three phases are only experienced by any employee if he stays long enough to do so. Labour turnover can be categorised according to the phase of employment in which leaving occurs. As was expected, the study shows that labour turnover in hotels and catering follows a similar pattern to that of other industries. In particular, leavings in the period of *induction crisis* are numerically by far the greatest and most wasteful. Leavings in the period of *differential transit* can be potentially creative, especially if anticipated and planned for by management. Leavings in the period of *settled connection* are relatively rare.

Rates (pages 17-24)

The annual rates of labour turnover for 20 units examined varied from 28 per cent to 216 per cent. They may be summarised as in Table 2.

Table 2 Rates of labour turnover in 20 hotel and catering units

Category	Number of units	Turnover (per cent)	
		Lowest	Highest
Hotels	12	33	216
Restaurants	1	—	—
Canteens	4	28	69
Snack bars	1	—	—
Public houses	2	100	140
Total	20	28	216

Notes

1 The annual labour turnover rate is the number of leavers in the year expressed as a percentage of the average number of staff for that year.

2 These figures are not all for the same years. They were collected in four different ways. (See notes to Table 6, page 19.)

These figures show that:

- On average labour turnover in these *units* is strikingly higher than in other *industries* for which labour turnover figures are available.
- The comparison between units shows large differences in rate of turnover.

Industry attitudes (pages 24-35)

A large proportion of the managers interviewed regarded high labour turnover as an inevitable characteristic of hotelkeeping and catering. This view was expressed particularly by those whose labour turnover was high. This commonly held view is not supported by the results of the comparison between units on the basis of any of the three standard measures. These show that establishments with similar activities and of similar size and location can experience widely differing labour turnover rates.

A minority of the managers interviewed believe that *management style* and the kind of organisation created by managers were the most important determinants of labour turnover. The study tends to support this view. The Tavistock Institute suggests that certain kinds of organisation and management are related to high labour turnover; and that other forms of organisation and *management style* are related to low turnover.

In particular, it is suggested that the firms and establishments studied exhibited a high degree of *managerial vacuum* or *abdication*, i.e. a tendency for managers to isolate themselves from their staff, to know little of what goes on in their organisation and to avoid overall responsibility for their employees. This *managerial vacuum* was most obvious in establishments where staff obtained a large proportion of their remuneration from sources other than the wage packet. This resulted, in some of the establishments studied, in the adoption of practices that managers make it their business to ignore. *Managerial abdication* was particularly increased by the tipping system which managers used, explicitly or implicitly, to pass responsibility for the individual's work from

themselves directly to the customer. One result of this *managerial abdication* was that staff were often left to experience tensions, inherent in their work, in isolation. They were left alone to bear the stresses of the difficult induction period. One result of this was the high peak of leavings in the early weeks of employment. A further result was that those employees who successfully weathered the storms of their induction into the establishment left unpredictably at a later date.

Interviews with managers and staff of all levels showed that the industry as a whole believes that it differs greatly from other industries. Employers and employed see themselves unrealistically as isolated from other workers. The negative aspects of this self-image were that members of the industry interviewed expressed lack of respect for themselves and their staff and regarded the industry as technically backward, as unfairly persecuted, over-dependent on foreign workers and as attracting too many nomadic or non-conforming members of society.

Costs (pages 35-37)

Only a few of the firms visited had made an attempt to measure the cost of labour turnover. In such cases estimates were based on the expenses that occurred as a result of leavings and replacement. Direct expenses of this kind can be easily calculated and used as a ready guide; but by themselves they are unlikely to reflect all the factors involved, which are difficult to isolate and measure financially on the basis of the data available. Most managers, while distrusting too precise attempts at costing, are nevertheless convinced that high labour turnover is a waste of their potential resources.

Managers can best be helped to reduce costs by identifying the circumstances in which wastage occurs and the ways by which it can be reduced.

Some managers who experienced a high labour turnover make what to them are satisfactory profits and are reluctant to change their practices even though it can be argued that higher profits would be obtainable.

To some extent managements with high labour turnover are passing on the costs to other firms in the industry, since they contribute to the industry as a whole acquiring a bad reputation for employment.

Recommendations (pages 44-47)

At the level of the establishment or firm

The action that managers are recommended to take is summarised below. In their report the Tavistock Institute stress that the quality of the relationship established between management and staff cannot necessarily be summarised in a series of action paragraphs.

- (a) Maintain labour turnover records and compare their own performance with that of others.
- (b) Establish staff relationships which while enabling subordinates to get on with the job provide the support and supervision the study indicates is necessary.
- (c) In particular, accept greater responsibility for supervision of staff in contact with customers and hence for higher standards of service.
- (d) Maintain closer and continual contact with employees and set aside time for regular and private discussion.
- (e) Operate a system of payment that is known and understood by staff and which can be seen to be scrupulously fair.

- (f) Pay particular attention to the problems experienced by entrants in the first few days and weeks of service.
- (g) Set aside time to maintain direct contact with the relatively few organisations that have been found to be valuable sources for recruitment of staff.
- (h) Develop better engagement procedures and a higher standard of interviewing skill.
- (i) Plan for and anticipate staff leaving.

At an industry level

Arrangements should be made to :

- (j) Encourage firms and establishments to maintain records and provide a basis for industry-wide inter-unit labour turnover comparisons.
- (k) Support experiments by firms to reduce their labour turnover and publicise the results of such experiments.
- (l) Consider the findings of the study in developing training recommendations, particularly those for managers.

3 Views of the Hotel and Catering EDC and action taken

In the foreword we state that it is generally recognised that high labour turnover is damaging to a firm: it lowers profit and quality of service to customers; and it indicates that staff may not be content in their relations with management or with their conditions of employment.

The study by the Tavistock Institute demonstrates that establishments in the industry do suffer from high labour turnover and that much of it is avoidable. It also shows that there is much that can and should be done by hotel and catering managements and by the industry as a whole to improve staff relations and the status of employment in the industry.

In our view labour turnover is a problem that should be taken seriously by the industry. Action to improve the situation should be given a high priority by all who are concerned with the industry's economic performance and development.

We have considered carefully the findings of the study and its recommendations and we have decided to take the following action.

Publication and discussion of findings

We are to give as much publicity as possible to the findings of the study. This booklet is a beginning. Our work is generously reported and commented upon in the national and trade press, but we have made special efforts to encourage discussion of this booklet and of the issues it raises.

We have asked the industry trade associations to give special attention to this subject in the hope that it will be widely discussed in industry groupings throughout the country. Copies of this booklet have also been sent to a wide range of organisations concerned with the education and training of hotel and catering staff.

Collection of data and inter-unit comparisons

We are keenly interested in encouraging the introduction of industry-wide inter-unit comparisons of labour turnover on the basis of standard methods of data collection. We are discussing with interested organisations how this might best be done.

Further research

We accept that there is a need for further research and experimentation into ways of reducing labour turnover in the industry. We are seeking the co-operation of leading firms in the industry and of the Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board in mounting pilot experiments in selected establishments. The results of these experiments would be widely publicised in the industry.

Training of staff

We have invited a number of organisations with an interest in the training of staff, and particularly of management, to discuss with us how the results of

the study might be incorporated in training recommendations. The Hotel and Catering Industry Training Board have a major interest in training and have already shown a lively interest in the study.

Recruitment of staff

We are in sympathy with the view that a rewarding staff recruitment campaign could be mobilised by the industry if effective industry action were taken to tackle the problems revealed by the study. Such a campaign would be primarily the responsibility of the industry trade associations and we have brought this aspect of the study findings to their attention.

Payment of staff

We have given consideration over the past months to methods of staff payment. The results of an enquiry into tipping which we have carried out will be published shortly. We are convinced that a movement away from undue dependence by some sectors of the industry on tips for a major part of employee remuneration is in the long-term interest of the industry. There is also a need to work out new incentive payment systems for the industry with the aim of raising productivity and standards of service. Our manpower working group is considering this subject.

On making progress

The Tavistock Institute has reported that vigorous action at a national level is required to bring the problems of labour turnover to the attention of the industry and to encourage the necessary changes in attitude and practice. We are prepared to play our part. However, the major responsibility for improvement rests with the many thousands of managers and proprietors in the industry, and with their staff. The future prosperity and progress of the industry depends in no small measure on the resolution of the problems discussed in this booklet.

It is particularly important that the numerous small establishments in the industry should play their part in tackling this industry-wide problem. We have invited the industry trade associations to discuss with us the production of a simplified version of the findings of the study and to bring these findings to the attention of their members.

4 Measuring labour turnover

There are three main indicators of labour turnover—the survival curve, the labour turnover rate and the length of service distribution—which, especially when taken together, are of considerable importance. They are described in general terms below. It is generally accepted as unlikely that any single measure taken by itself will provide an entirely satisfactory indication of labour turnover.

The survival curve

This measure concentrates on entrants

The survival curve is probably the most useful single measure since it demonstrates the comparative success or failure of the organisation in retaining its entrants over a considerable period of time, two years or more. In order to calculate a survival curve those entering the organisation in a given year are identified and the lengths of time they stay until leaving are calculated. These lengths of service are then grouped so as to show the percentage of the year's entrants who left before they had completed a quarter of a year's service, those who completed a quarter of a year but left before serving a year and so on. These percentages can then be shown either in tabular form or by plotting them on a graph. A guide to the interpretation of survival curves is set out at Appendix I.

For purposes of illustration, one of the hotels studied by the Tavistock Institute (Unit 20)* has been taken. The numbers of staff leaving this establishment each quarter over a two-year period, calculated as a percentage of total entrants, are shown in Table 3.

Table 3 Percentage of entrants leaving each quarter (Unit 20)

Total entrants	% leaving in successive quarterly periods of service							
	1st	2nd	3rd	4th	5th	6th	7th	8th
221	73	14	5	2	3	1	1	—

The survival curve that may be produced from these figures is shown opposite in Chart 1. This chart shows the rate at which entrants left Unit 20 over a two-year period.

When weekly periods of time are being examined, labour turnover rates can be more usefully shown on a bar chart. The bar chart in Chart 2 gives a breakdown of leaving in the first thirteen weeks of service in Unit 20.

* The establishments studied have been given unit numbers to maintain the anonymity of the respondents.

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employees. Short-term engagements which are planned to meet peak periods of work are an exception to this general conclusion.

Medium-term stay

Secondly, following the initial period of intensive leaving there follows a further period of from six to eighteen months during which the rate of leaving, although still considerable, nevertheless declines in extent. This has been called the period of *differential transit*. It often represents the time when the new employee has the opportunity to consider how far the unit he has joined offers him suitable employment of a more long-term nature. Sometimes leaving may have been planned in advance and such predetermined periods can be creative and useful for both the establishment and the employee. However, managements can be confronted with acute difficulties if they do not anticipate leavings and plan for replacements.

Long-term stay

Thirdly, it can be seen from the curve that after about eighteen months the rate of leaving has become low and intermittent and a period of *settled connection* may be established during which the employee tends increasingly to identify his future with the organisation. Examination of the figures shows that in some establishments only a very small proportion of entrants survive to this period. This makes it difficult for managements to build up a stable core of employees dedicated to serving the particular establishment.

The most commonly used measure of labour turnover measures the rate of leaving. It is a ratio that compares the total number of leavers in a given period with the average number employed by the organisation in that period. This rate is used by the Department of Employment and Productivity and by most industries. As a measurement it has several limitations, the most important of which is that it concentrates on how many staff are leaving, regardless of length of service. Leavings may be of less importance to management than length of service because the act of leaving is only one event in a relationship between employer and employee which starts when the employee first applies for a job. This limitation lends weight to the view that the survival curve, which does show the length of service, is a more comprehensive and useful measure of the labour turnover process as a whole. Nevertheless, the labour turnover rate has some useful characteristics as a measure of labour turnover.

- (a) First, by comparing directly the number of employees leaving in a given period with the number employed during this period it provides, albeit in a fairly rough and ready way, a guide to whether leavers may be causing disturbance in the organisation as a whole by causing a large number of occasions when management is confronted with the act of leaving, and hence (often) the need for replacement.
- (b) Secondly, it can give some indication of how quickly different jobs are turning over, especially if data are divided into different departments or occupations.
- (c) Thirdly, since this rate is calculated for many industries by the Department of Employment and Productivity it does provide a way of making comparisons between industries.

It is useful to have some way of measuring the extent to which an establishment has been able to build up a stable core of employees. Both the measures described above, the survival curve on the one hand and the labour turnover rate on the other, have the important limitation that they take no account of the fact that large areas of the organisations may be subject to some stability of employment.

Supposing, for example, that a hotel has one hundred employees, including five receptionists. If during the course of the year each receptionist stays only two weeks, then twenty-five have to be taken on for each of the five positions in the course of the year, giving a theoretical labour turnover rate of 125 per cent and the survival curve of such a hotel would show a first period peak of 100 per cent, even though 95 per cent of the total employees had remained stable during the period of the examination. In practice such extreme situations are rare, but high turnover in some jobs can be responsible for a relatively high proportion of the turnover of any individual establishment.

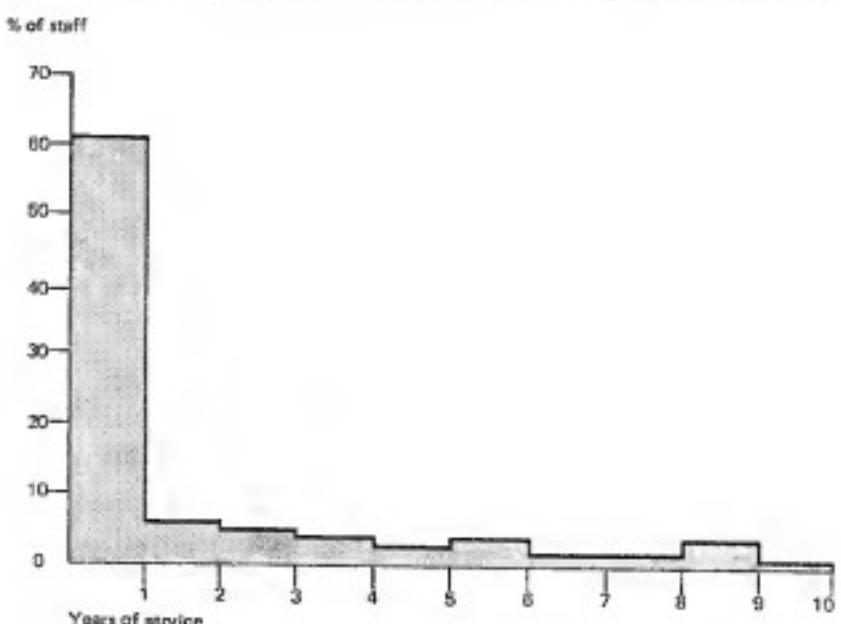
A useful way to record and to illustrate length of service is to compile a table and a bar chart setting out the period of service of all current employees on a given date. An example is given below based on data collected from Unit 20.

Table 4 Length of service of current staff (Unit 20)

Total no of staff	Percentage of total staff in each year of service											
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	Over 20	
100	61	6	5	4	3	4	2	2	4	1	7	3

Note The total adds to more than 100 because of rounding and this also occurs in other tables

Chart 3—Unit 20 Length of service of current staff



5 Findings

Statistical

Availability of data

At the start of the project, it was expected that the collection of statistics would present unusual difficulties because of the relative shortage of personnel records in hotel and catering establishments compared with those in other industries. In our publication *Your Manpower** we referred to important gaps in the manpower records kept by the industry. In initial discussions, managers in both large and small establishments were well aware of the lack of statistical information on manpower and the inaccuracy of much that was available.

The larger establishments in the study tended to keep better records than the smaller; but some very small units kept very good records which it proved possible to use in the study.

Difficulties in recording and collecting hotel and catering manpower statistics arise for several reasons. There is first the problem of defining who is employed by a firm or establishment. This is not always easy in the hotel and catering industry; the 'staff' of a catering establishment may consist of some permanent employees living in, some who live out, some part-timers, some trainees, some students on holiday jobs and some intermittent casuals hired by the day and constantly changing.

One problem encountered in the collection of the data was that reliable estimates of the extent to which some establishments used casual employees were not always possible.

Another problem experienced in the study was the difficulty of taking account of different employment policies in calculating turnover. For example, a situation was encountered where two adjacent hotels were serving a similar and seasonal market. One manager adopted the strategy of taking on short-term employees (eg, students) to meet the peaks in demand. The other manager kept the same number of staff throughout the year, but temporarily laid off individual members during the troughs in demand. The rate of labour turnover for the former was 216 per cent and for the latter 127 per cent. Taken by themselves these figures could be misleading unless interpreted in the light of the different employment policies they represented. Sometimes the effects of individual employment policies were measurable from the records, so that it was possible to distinguish full-time staff, part-time staff and casual workers; but in other units the records did not give this information.

In spite of these problems, useful data were collected for the majority of the units investigated. Only in a few cases were data not available or were they so suspect as to be worthless for purposes of comparison. In most units in the study the accessibility of records varied and in some the process of extracting the information involved arduous delving and cross-checking, through financial and other figures.

Analysis of data

In this section the three measures of labour turnover discussed in Section 3—survival curve, labour turnover rate and length of service—are applied to the

* Published by HMSO (5s).

Table 5 The survival of entrants in twenty units

Unit no	Category	Total entrants*	% leaving in successive quarterly periods of service										
			1st 2nd 3rd 4th				% Remaining more than one year			% Remaining more than two years			
			44	6	19	—	31	—	5	2	—	2	—
1	Hotel	32 (2)	44	6	19	—	31	—	5	2	—	2	—
3	Hotel	53 (—)	70	9	4	4	13	9	2	—	2	—	—
5	Hotel	19 (5)	42	11	21	5	21	—	5	—	—	16	
7	Hotel	113 (3)	65	13	4	5	14	4	4	1	1	4	
8	Canteen	64 (—)	72	11	6	2	9	—	—	—	Not available		
10	Restaurant	29 (3)	52	14	14	7	13	—	—	—	3	10	
11	Hotel	71 (2)	59	14	4	1	20	—	1	3	1	15	
12	Canteen	34 (2)	29	18	9	3	41	—	—	—	Not available		
13	Hotel	126 (2)	53	17	7	2	20	—	—	—	Not available		
14	Hotel	883 (46)	42	19	12	7	22	4	3	3	1	11	
17	Canteen	47 (10)	21	17	9	2	51	9	4	2	—	36	
20	Hotel	221 (—)	73	14	5	2	6	3	1	1	—	2	
23	Hotel	29 (2)	72	10	—	—	18	—	4	—	4	10	
25	Snack bar	28 (—)	43	21	21	—	14	—	—	4	4	7	
26	Hotel	58 (—)	64	16	9	2	10	—	—	—	Not available		
27	Hotel	61 (—)	48	15	10	2	26	5	—	3	3	15	
30	Public house	21 (2)	48	10	10	24	10	—	5	5	—	—	
31	Hotel	84 (2)	64	14	7	4	10	1	2	2	—	5	
32	Public house	39 (—)	69	8	5	5	13	5	—	—	—	8	
33	Hotel	122 (—)	77	11	6	2	4	2	1	—	—	1	
Total		2,134(81)	53	16	9	4	17	—	—	—	—	—	

Notes * In brackets is given the number of part-timers included in the total.

1 The definition of a part-timer in this and subsequent tables is that adopted by the Department of Employment and Productivity and refers to employees who work for not more than thirty hours per week. In some establishments, however, it must be noted that data about hours worked was not kept consistently so that the proportion of part-timers shown may in some cases be too low.

2 Included in Table 5 are some entrants to supervisory and management positions (eg head waiter, head chef, etc) but the total of these represents less than 1 per cent of the total number of entrants analysed.

data collected from the establishments participating in the study. The data provide a framework showing the main outline of the labour turnover problem studied. They also bring out the differences between establishments.

Survival of entrants

Table 5 records the survival of entrants in twenty units for which data were available.

It can be seen from Table 5 that the percentage of entrants leaving in their first thirteen weeks of service varied from 21 per cent to 77 per cent. The proportion of those surviving more than one year varied from 4 per cent to 51 per cent and those remaining after two years of service from zero to 36 per cent.

Rate of leaving

Table 6 records the rate at which staff were leaving in these twenty units.

Table 6 Annual labour turnover rates for twenty units

Unit no	Category	Year	% Annual labour turnover			
			A	B	C	D
1	Hotel	1965				127
2	Canteen	1967	67			
3	Hotel	1966		123		
5	Hotel	1966		60		
7	Hotel	1965			135	
8	Canteen	1967	69			
10	Restaurant	1966			126	
11	Hotel	1967		128		
12	Canteen	1966	34			
14	Hotel	1967	64			
17	Canteen	1967	28			
20	Hotel	1967			222	
23	Hotel	1966		136		
25	Snack bar	1966			165	
26	Hotel	1965				215
27	Hotel	1966		127		
30	Public house	1966			140	
31	Hotel	1967		33		
32	Public house	1967			100	
33	Hotel	1966		216		

Notes 1 The annual labour turnover rate is the number of leavers in one year expressed as a percentage of the average number of staff for that year.

2 In the above table these rates are given in four columns. These columns reflect four different ways in which the data were collected. Data recorded in Column A were given in this form by the unit concerned, *i.e.* they had calculated their own labour turnover rate. In Column B are recorded the rates for those firms who gave data concerning their numbers of leavers and average number employed based upon two periods in the year, January and July. In Column C are recorded the labour turnover rates which were worked out by the consultants from personnel data concerning leavers and an average number employed based on four periods during the year, *i.e.* the last week in February, May, August and November. Those figures given in Column D refer to the instances where no adequate data existed recording leavers. The labour turnover rate is based on entrants and not leavers. In these cases the average number of staff was given by the hotel itself and was said to be constant.

Table 7 Length of service of current staff
Analysis of number of years of service—summary

Unit no	Category	Total no of Staff	% of total staff with period of service less than			% of total staff with period of service more than		
			1 year	5 years	10 years	1 year	5 years	10 years
3 Hotel		49	54	92	98	46	8	2
6 Snack bar		24	54	na	na	46	na	na
7 Hotel		91	42	74	88	58	26	12
8 Canteen		36	45	na	na	55	na	na
10 Restaurant		23	57	96	na	43	4	na
11 Hotel		68	40	88	97	60	13	3
12 Canteen		48	17	60	87	83	40	13
14 Hotel		1,000+	38	66	79	62	34	21
17 Canteen		98	18	41	69	82	59	31
20 Hotel		106	61	78	91	39	22	9
22 Hotel		45	33	na	na	67	na	na
26 Hotel		27	66	85	96	34	15	4
27 Hotel		58	33	79	88	67	21	12
30 Public House		14	86	na	na	14	na	na
32 Public House		14	57	na	na	43	na	na
33 Hotel		32	56	94	97	44	16	3

Note: The information in this table is a summary of that shown in Table 14, Appendix 2, page 55.

na—Here and in other places means that the information is not available.

Length of service

Recorded in Table 7 is a summary of the length of service of staff in sixteen establishments for which data were available.

The proportion of staff with less than one year's service varied from 17 per cent to 86 per cent. The proportion with more than five years' service varies from 4 per cent to 59 per cent and the percentage with more than ten years' service from 2 per cent to 31 per cent.

- It is immediately apparent from an examination of these tables that:
- (a) Firms differ markedly from each other in their experience of labour turnover. This finding confirms the views of those who regard turnover as being partly within the control of management, and conflicts with the widespread impression of many that turnover is high and uniform throughout the industry.
 - (b) Differences in labour turnover rates cannot be explained in terms of the size or location of the units.
 - (c) Industrial canteens covered by the study had a lower labour turnover than most other units.



Comparison with other industries

The consultants expected that, as in other industries, more entrants would leave the hotel and catering industry in the first few weeks than in succeeding weeks. The survival curve would be, therefore, a roughly similar shape. This expectation was confirmed. In Chart 4 the survival curve over two years for a food factory is compared with a restaurant (Unit 10). The labour turnover for the factory is fairly typical of manufacturing industry while the restaurant records a rate of turnover in the middle of the range recorded in the study. In Chart 5 the bar chart showing rate of leaving in the food factory in the first thirteen weeks of employment is compared with the same restaurant as in Chart 4 (Unit 10).

Chart 4

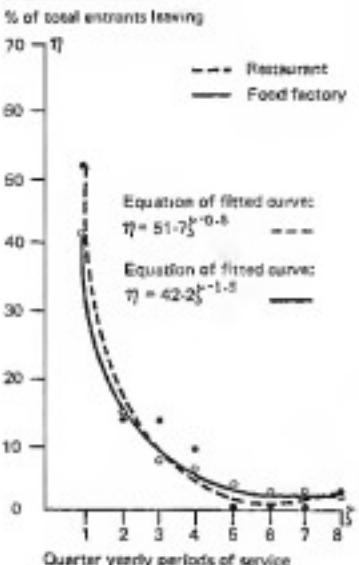
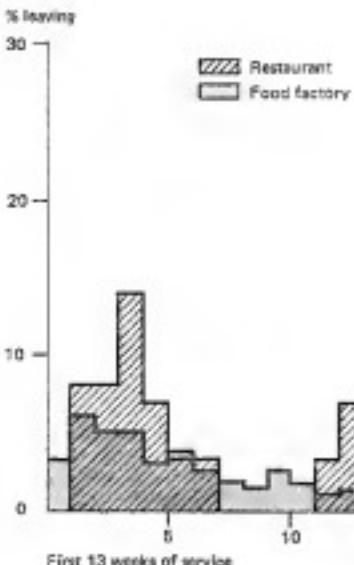


Chart 5



The survival curves are roughly similar in shape. However, a detailed analysis of the curves reveals that labour turnover in the restaurant is strikingly more severe than in the factory. A comparison of the rates of labour turnover recorded for establishments in our study with those for industry groupings for which regular turnover figures are recorded by the Department of Employment and Productivity established that labour turnover in the establishments in our study is strikingly higher than in manufacturing industry as a whole: two in three of the hotel and catering establishments experience rates of labour turnover higher than the upper end of the range recorded for manufacturing industry.

Table 8 Labour turnover rates in manufacturing industries

		Rate per cent
Labour turnover rates in the manufacturing industries (1967)	High	71
	Low	16
	Average	35

Note: Standard Industrial Classification, Minimum List Headings 211-459. The average is for 1967 and based on quarterly returns published by the Department of Employment and Productivity Gazette.

Table 9 Summary of labour turnover rates in 20 hotel and catering establishments

Establishments Number	Per cent	Rate of turnover Per cent
7	35	20-70
1		Over 70-100
8		Over 100-150
1	65	Over 150-200
3		Over 200
Total	20	100

Note: Not all the rates on which the average is calculated are for 1967, some are for earlier years.

Comparison by sex

In the establishments studied, labour turnover was higher among men than among women. In this respect, the hotel and catering industry differs markedly from the labour turnover experience of the manufacturing industries examined by the Department of Employment and Productivity over the past four years.

In Table 10, the survival data collected during the study is summarised. It can be seen from this summary that men in the industry experience a more marked induction crisis; considerably fewer women leave in their first period of service. This difference disappears by the end of two years' service.

Table 10 Survival of entrants Men compared with women

Quarterly periods	Men: 1,260 Entrants		Women: 874 Entrants	
	% Leaving in each quarterly period	% Remaining after each quarterly period	% Leaving in each quarterly period	% Remaining after each quarterly period
First	58	42	46	54
Second	15	27	18	36
Third	7	20	10	26
Fourth	5	14	4	22
Fifth	2	12	5	17
Sixth	1	11	3	13
Seventh	2	9	2	11
Eighth	1	9	1	10

Comparison by establishment or firm

The data collected by the consultants provide a basis for inter-establishment or inter-firm comparisons. Comparisons can be made using all three of the measures we have discussed. The use of the survival curve has been advocated if one simple measure only is used. Smaller establishments might find the invitation to draw these curves somewhat forbidding; but it is not necessary for the entire curve to be drawn in order to make an inter-establishment comparison. The success of establishments in retaining entrants can be represented by taking the percentage of entrants leaving in (or remaining after) their first thirteen weeks, and their first year or two years of service.* In Table 11 below we show these figures for three units—two hotels and a food factory. The food factory survival curve was given earlier. If we compare Unit 14, a large hotel, and the food factory, it can be seen that each loses an identical proportion (41 per cent) of its entrants in their first quarter-year's service. By the end of two years, however, the factory has nearly twice as many survivors as the hotel. The other Unit 20—a large-size hotel—loses nearly three-quarters of its entrants in the first quarter of their service and only two per cent survive two years.

Table 11 Survival of entrants in three units

Establishments	Total entrants	% of entrants leaving in			% of entrants remaining		
		1st 13 weeks	1st year	1st 2 years	1st 13 weeks	1st year	1st 2 years
		of service	of service	of service	of service	of service	of service
Unit 20: hotel	221	73	94	98	27	6	2
Unit 14: hotel	883	41	78	89	59	22	11
Food factory	1,049	41	70	81	59	30	19

Comparison by occupation

From the data collected, a comparison can also be made of the length of stay of entrants classified by their job.

Several interesting comparisons emerge from inspection of Table 12, where the numbers of employees are large enough to enable them to be made. Cooks and kitchen porters have the longest and shortest stay respectively. Waiters and waitresses show similar rates of leaving in the early period of service, although thereafter waiters are likely to stay.

Findings from interviews

Aim and scope

In individual interviews, the consultants sought to try to understand the causes of labour turnover revealed by the statistical data. Four main categories of people were interviewed: first, managers and owners responsible for running whole units in the industry; secondly, managers of individual departments

* A guide to survival curves is provided in Appendix 1.

Table 12 Length of stay of entrants in different job categories

Occupation	No of part-time	No of men	No of women	Total entrants	% leaving in quarterly periods of service					Remainder after 2 years
					1st	2nd	3rd	4th	Over 4	% Base no*
<i>Kitchen</i>										
Chefs, cooks, etc	2	183	5	188	38	20	7	11	24	13 161
Stillroom: male	1	38	—	38	66	24	—	3	8	— 36
female	4	—	45	45	49	20	16	2	13	6 34
Coldroom, larder	—	25	—	25	76	8	—	—	16	12 25
Kitchen porters	4	263	—	263	75	11	7	1	5	1 230
Washers up: male	1	50	—	50	60	20	8	2	10	10 42
female	—	—	25	25	24	24	24	4	24	15 22
Silversmen	—	40	—	40	90	5	3	—	3	3 36
Other kitchen assistants	—	55	11	66	53	9	9	5	24	11 61
Total	12	654	86	740	59	15	8	4	14	7 647
<i>Service</i>										
Waiters	2	241	—	241	56	17	9	8	10	6 219
Waitresses	14	—	150	150	55	17	12	3	13	3 133
Barmen	9	65	—	65	51	11	9	3	26	13 55
Barmaids	5	—	29	29	72	3	—	3	21	12 25
Total	30	306	179	485	56	15	10	6	14	6 432
<i>Housekeeping</i>										
Housekeepers	—	—	11	11	27	18	18	—	36	18 11
Chambermaids	2	—	189	189	43	19	13	5	20	9 171
Linens maids	—	—	32	32	44	16	9	13	19	— 30
Cleaners: female	9	—	121	121	55	17	7	4	17	8 109
Misc. maintenance wkr.	3	59	—	59	63	19	7	2	10	7 59
Secretaries, book-keepers, etc	2	32	34	66	29	11	15	6	39	20 64
Total	16	91	387	478	46	17	11	5	21	10 444
<i>Reception and portering</i>										
Porters	—	66	—	66	62	11	11	2	15	13 47
Reception, enquiries, etc	11	20	74	94	41	22	9	—	28	5 79
Pageboys	—	23	—	23	39	39	9	13	—	— 20
Total	11	109	74	183	49	20	9	2	26	7 146
<i>Misc admin and others</i>	—	66	50	116	53	14	9	2	22	16 108
<i>Canteen workers</i>										
Waitresses	8	—	18	18	—	6	11	6	78	44 16
Assistants	4	34	80	114	54	16	7	2	22	na na
Total	12	34	98	132	47	14	8	2	30	na na
Overall total	81	1,260	874	2,134	53	16	9	4	17	8 1,820

Note *This base number represents the number of entrants who could have stayed for two years, i.e. in those organisations where we were able to examine the entrants in the year 1965 or earlier.

only; thirdly, other staff taken from each of the main categories of employment. Fourthly, a series of discussions were held with those who, while not working within operating units of the industry, nevertheless held special positions of responsibility either in the administration of groups of hotels or in some cases institutions outside the industry but concerned with it.

Of the 217 people interviewed, approximately 30 were managers and owners, 30 were departmental managers and 140 were other employees. A detailed breakdown of the numbers interviewed in different categories is provided in Appendix 3.

All the respondents were invited to talk freely. The main aim of the interviews was to explore facts and attitudes relevant to the general problems of labour turnover. With managers and staff a specific aim was to study the processes of recruitment and *induction*. Particular attention was paid to the *period of induction*. The interviews also enabled the consultants to explore the factors affecting employment in different organisations. The consultants tended in the course of interviews to run through the whole of an individual's life from childhood to the present time. This enabled them to study the ways in which persons come to be associated with the industry and their different experiences in it.

Particular care was taken to ensure that the staff selected for interview included some who had been with the organisation concerned for only a few days, and others for varying periods up to several years.

The industry's self-image

The majority of those interviewed appeared to see the industry as having a distinct identity with characteristics not shared by any other and felt that they worked under conditions radically unlike those experienced by other workers. This view showed itself constantly and in many ways. The extent to which managers interviewed saw themselves as isolated was sometimes unrealistic and tended to create the belief that hotel and catering managements had little or nothing to learn from managers in other industries or from those with other professional skills. A minority of senior people in the industry interviewed were aware that these commonly held beliefs are unrealistic.

There was also a belief held by many of the respondents that the industry is unfairly persecuted: there was unease about taxation, and strong feeling about criticism by journalists and hotel guides of standards of service. It was a widespread belief among staff of all levels that the industry is more exposed to personal rudeness from customers than other industries.

Managements in the establishments studied also believed that the industry attracts far too many unsatisfactory employees. It was frequently asserted by respondents that the hours worked by employees were inconsistent with those normally needed for the development of an ordinary family life. Consequently, it was often said that the industry attracted an abnormally high proportion of those unable to establish more conventional social relationships. Even managers who claimed to have relatively little difficulty either in recruiting or retaining staff nevertheless tended to complain about them and to disparage their performance.

However, while respondents saw the industry as attracting non-conforming elements in society they believed that customers for the most part demand something that is ultra-orthodox, conservative and stable. The balancing of these two factors presents managers with a particularly difficult task. From

the standpoint of research and development, the managers interviewed believed the industry to be more conservative in the face of technical progress than is justified in practice. Some older managers insisted that their customers would not tolerate any change in the standards of service that had obtained for forty years or more; but others believed the industry to be too timid in this respect.

A further paradox in respondents' views of the industry was that they saw it to be both idealised, and despised. The industry was seen to be idealised in the sense that it is alleged to be regarded as providing glamorous jobs. Many of the people working within it seemed to find a measure of genuine glamour; especially, for example, when they worked in establishments patronised by celebrities. It was seen to be despised because of the way that staff are regarded by some customers.

The industry also saw itself as being rather un-British. It was argued by some respondents that it is very difficult to get English people to be good hotel and catering workers because they are not prepared to act as servants. Consequently, it was argued that the industry is obliged to recruit foreign workers and had become over-dependent on them. It was argued that were foreign staff to return home, the industry would collapse.

The overall industry image of itself that emerged from the interviews combined self-satisfaction and complacency with self-criticism and pessimism. From the point of view of labour turnover and recruitment, the most important over-riding impression gained by the consultants is of an industry that lacks self-respect and tends to despise and devalue its own skills. These attitudes permeated hotels and restaurants to a far greater extent than other parts of the industry, especially canteens. In the four canteens studied there was noticeably greater personal warmth, greater security, a more robust belief in their own worthwhileness and, as has already been noted, a tendency to lower labour turnover.

Managers' attitudes to labour turnover

The extent to which labour turnover was considered to be a problem, and the ways in which it affected the establishments studied, were discussed with all the managers interviewed. A few managers in very small establishments had never heard the term, but the majority had done so. Most said that it was a problem, but a few maintained, and with some conviction, that for them it was not. There was considerable variation too in managers' attitudes to dealing with labour turnover. Some managers spoke complainingly and despairingly about their level of labour turnover: others were sure that action could be taken to reduce the rate, and tended to discuss the matter more in terms of their strategies for coping with the problem. Only a few managers, usually those who were in a position to survey a number of different establishments, had formed the view that labour turnover varied widely between different establishments.

Labour turnover was sometimes used by managers as a blanket term to cover general trouble with staff. This blanket understanding of the term covered difficulties with recruitment, with quality or with honesty. On the whole, respondents saw the industry as having more unusual and more complex staff problems than other industries. For example, a young manager trained as a chef was looking forward to opening his own restaurant, but he stressed that when he did so this would be staffed by his own family, because the problems of employing staff could create insuperable difficulties for the manager of a small restaurant.

Causes and cures

Those managers, and they seemed to form the majority, who thought that high labour turnover was experienced by all establishments in the industry, tended to ascribe its causes to factors outside the control of the individual establishment. They said that the general characteristics either of the national economy, or of people as a whole, or of conditions peculiar to hotel and catering work, were responsible for labour turnover difficulties. Throughout the discussion with the consultants, those holding this view would sometimes continue to repeat certain phrases as giving a kind of blanket explanation of labour turnover. For example, that it was all a question of 'supply and demand for labour', or that 'the grass is always greener on the other side of the fence', or that it was 'only human for staff to wish to change jobs'.

Managers often ascribed the level of labour turnover to the particular characteristics of the hotel and catering industry and the long hours. However, the consultants general impression was that a person joining the industry tended to stay in it. The explanations of these managers do not explain movement within the industry. The nature of the work in some jobs, particularly those of kitchen-porters, was often said to be so bad that no one would stick it; but these jobs were often those where the work was more easily interchangeable with jobs in other industries.

Sometimes managers gave reasons why their particular establishments experienced high rates of turnover. Often the location of the establishment or the nature of its trade were given as explanations. For example, the manager of an establishment with a remote location stated remoteness as a reason for labour turnover, whereas managers of establishments with town centre locations argued that turnover was high because there were so many alternative job opportunities. A manager of a hotel that was predominantly residential gave the long stay of residents as a reason for labour turnover; but one who managed an establishment where guests were always coming and going gave the unsettled character of the work as the reason. None of the managers who experienced severe labour turnover and ascribed it to any of the above causes felt that his own management might be responsible or that he had any lessons to learn from the experience of others.

Other managers and senior executives of the industry seemed to take a different view. One senior executive of a large hotel group who supervised the movement of managers from hotel to hotel had formed the view that the labour turnover of his company's hotels was correlated with the manager in charge. His view was that some managers had the capacity to attract and retain staff and would do so wherever they went, whatever the character of the establishment they managed; but that other managers tended to repel staff and did so wherever they went.

Some executives saw the lack of any kind of personnel policy in the industry as a root cause of labour turnover. It was argued that managements in the industry were too preoccupied with craft skills and were too prone to 'hire and fire' staff. Those holding these views felt that the development of trade unionism in the industry would be beneficial to both workers and management. Managers at executive level in hotel groups or who had worked in large hotels were most likely to express these views; but they were shared by the managers of some smaller establishments who had formed the view that the extent to which they could get to know their staff individually affected their capacity to retain them.

A minority of managers who were determined to understand their staff

problems and to discover causes of disturbance were able to take action to reduce turnover. For example, the manager of a grill bar explained the problems he had experienced in expanding his grill. He advertised for staff and was able to employ a 'nice selection of girls'. However, they all left after two or three weeks. Consideration by the manager of rates of pay and discussions with those who left did not really provide clues to their reasons for leaving. He determined to find out by direct observation and spent a whole week working in the bar. The previous bar had been run by three older women who had been retained when it had been rebuilt and expanded. The manager discovered that the older women were making life difficult for the younger girls in a number of petty ways. When the older women left he appointed a full-time bar manager and the rate of labour turnover soon declined.

Success in recruiting staff was also related to the care and time spent by managers. The most successful managers were those who had made particular and detailed relationships with the main sources of supply of staff whether from abroad or in the UK, or whether staff were obtained through an agency, the local labour exchange, or from elsewhere. Sometimes, for example, managers would get a large proportion of their staff from a particular country or town with whom they maintained close contacts. These managers described how they spent long periods of time at the local employment exchanges talking to local managers. They had carefully selected particular employment agencies and had formed detailed personal relationships with their managers.* Other sources of staff were mentioned. Again, the managers finding these sources most useful were those that maintained close contact with them. The consultants visited some of these organisations in the course of their work.

Industry organisation

The nature of the service

The industry exists to satisfy basic needs for food, drink and shelter. Meeting these needs imposes particular kinds of psychological stress on individuals. Customers may often be unreasonable in their demands and sometimes infantile in their behaviour; for example, giving silent appreciation if gratified and voicing shrill and violent complaints if not. A high proportion of staff are exposed in varying degrees to customers and their tasks may be organised in a way to relieve this stress or to aggravate it. If tasks are organised in a way that aggravates stress, staff will leave at a seriously high rate because this is the only way they can relieve emotional pressure. In such establishments there is no other way of acting out stress. Establishments where staff live-in are most affected because of the absence of the relief and support that might otherwise be obtained from family life. Even where staff live-out this family support may be weakened by inconvenient hours of work, which may result in other personal difficulties.

* This finding may be particularly pertinent to the small organisation where reliance on one or two tried sources is more practical in view of the numbers required. But the consultants also found the method used by larger organisations to fill certain categories of jobs. Size alone did not appear to be an important factor affecting the ease or difficulty with which different establishments could attract and retain staff.

Examples of stress

Staff at all levels are well aware of the peculiar stresses to which they are subject. For example, one manager of a medium-sized successful hotel said how fed up he was with the industry and that he planned to get out of it as soon as he could. 'It's so dreadful being nice to a lot of people that you don't care for at all'. A young chef spoke of the strain of running a restaurant, 'where one's at everyone's beck and call—always rushing around after people'. In a pub the landlord's mother, who made the bar snacks, said, 'Customers expect you to do everything for them and treat you like dirt—people come in and expect to be waited on. There isn't a waitress service and it's up to them to come and get their food at the bar, but they expect you to do everything for them—and we usually do, just to impress'. She went on to describe how, if someone asked her to perform a task she considered quite unreasonable her favourite device was to pretend not to hear. A luggage porter said how hard it was tolerating the rudeness of guests because he needed their tips. He said it hit wives the hardest because 'you come home after a hard day and take it out on the wife'. He described how there were often flare-ups in the luggage room when someone came down after being pushed around by a customer; but other members of staff, he said, knew why this happened and no one bore a grudge because they were all in the same position.

The canteens studied were less affected by these stresses. In an industrial canteen customers are 'captive', prices are subsidised, and more permanent relationships may be established with customers. But even in these canteens relations between staff and customers are more intense than in other industries because catering workers are prone to identify strongly with the product and the product is so personal. For example, one assistant in a factory canteen



referred to 'her' customers as 'my men'. She described how they all said, 'Florrie, what have you had to eat?' and she told them and whether it was nice and they usually ate what she said was good. She thought that service to customers was all important and knowing individual customers essential. 'But', she said, 'it's terrible if some of the food isn't good and you have to serve it. You feel you can't apologise for it and you know there will be complaints... you feel you are letting people down if you serve them bad food'. She described how if there were no adequate alternatives on the menu she got very upset and felt like putting on her coat and leaving.

Coping with stress

There are three main ways in which the stresses we have described were handled by individual establishments.

Managerial abdication. One method adopted in the establishments studied was to allow much of the stress to be experienced by those in most contact with the customers and then to isolate them. This situation occurs because, as a large part of the work is carried out directly in service to customers, the employee is regarded as working as much for the customer as for the organisation.

The worker in this situation usually has part of his wages paid by management and part paid directly by the customer in tips. It may not be clear to him to whom he is responsible. The consultants found that where tipping was prevalent it was almost always felt by staff that, in part, they were working directly for the customer.

In this triangular situation staff have to deal with the stresses of the customer relationship without managerial support. This tends to result in an over-subservience to the customer and a weakened relationship to management. Moreover, the tensions which arise in the course of day-to-day work tend to be acted out in the triangular situation and there is often no clear-cut way in which they can be resolved. Difficulties with customers are acted out with management and difficulties with management acted out with customers. The practice of tipping exacerbates this split.

Staff in this situation may find themselves in the position of working for two masters neither of whom takes responsibility for them. One extreme form of this kind of *managerial abdication* was expressed by a manager who said, 'Staff shouldn't be working for management. Management should be shown to be workers as they are and staff are strictly working for the customers. It would be fatal if any other feeling got into the hotel and it is most important for management to show this. For instance, my wife and I never go into the dining room if it is busy, only when most of the people have gone. The customer must always come first... the customer is always right... you'll never abolish tipping—it's inbuilt into the system'.

This manager insisted that his staff took the full force of customer stress at its height. He had one of the highest levels of labour turnover of the establishments studied. He maintained that his labour turnover was no different from that experienced by other establishments in the industry and that there was nothing he could do about it.

The buttress. An alternative method of dealing with stress from customer relationships was to attempt to contain it within the organisation and to ensure that where possible the organisation provides a protection and support for those working within it. Thus one manager of an extremely successful snack

bar explained that he would set his staff very clear limits regarding the kind of service that customers were entitled to expect and would instruct his staff that they were not to go beyond these limits of service. He was also insistent that where possible he would protect his staff from rudeness. He said, 'I would rather have a happy staff and lose a few customers than allow the customers to be rude to my staff'. To illustrate this he related how, on one occasion, he found a customer whistling to a waitress for service and asked the customer if he wanted to take his dog for a walk.

Another manager described how he would always make a point of being present personally when particularly difficult situations occurred. For instance when his restaurant was giving a banquet, he would be particularly watchful for any signs of the waitresses getting unduly flustered or being upset by what customers might say to them. He would talk to the staff before the banquet and during it and use his position to support and encourage anyone who might be feeling upset. Both these managers maintained that they had relatively little trouble with labour turnover.

Channelling tension. A third method by which stress was handled was by channelling tensions within the organisation. A head waiter described how he deliberately annoyed his staff before they began serving in the evening. You had, he said, 'really to make the staff hate you'. His theory was that if staff hated him then they would discharge their emotional tension towards him and not at the customers. Another example of the tendency to channel tension was the selection of some categories of staff as 'whipping boys'. Kitchen porters were often regarded and treated as untouchables. They were frequently described as doing dirty jobs which no one else would deign to do, were offered no support, and in some instances were totally disregarded. Where this attitude existed it was as though kitchen porters were being treated in the way in which staff felt that some customers treated them. In one large hotel visited by the consultants, one of the staff expressed amazement at the thought that they would actually be talking to kitchen porters and said that, although she had worked there for many years, she had never yet spoken to a kitchen porter.

It was observed that in the hotels where this attitude was adopted, the turnover of kitchen porters was a high proportion of the total labour turnover. It can be seen from the figures given earlier that this was frequently the case. But significantly, high turnover among kitchen porters was not universal; in establishments where different attitudes existed the same groups of kitchen porters had been employed for many years.

Conclusions

These three different ways of dealing with stress are not mutually exclusive. Sometimes management appeared to treat some of its staff in one way and some in another, and sometimes the staff of a hotel were divided sharply into what were felt to be a hard core and a more floating population. Quite often the hard core supported and protected each other but treated those who stayed for a shorter time as scapegoats. In these establishments it appears that the hard core are able to stay together by continually rejecting the newcomers.

The situation of *management abdication* generally resulted in the highest rates of labour turnover recorded in the study. A detached professional relationship between the hotelier or restaurateur and the customer may be appropriate to customer needs; service offered in a discreet and courteous manner respects the privacy of the customer. But the translation of this detached

attitude to relations between management and employees and between levels of staff would appear to result in the isolation of managers from labour problems and from the real causes of labour turnover.

In such a situation managers are ignorant of much of what goes on in their establishments. For example, a manager in charge of a large restaurant, who interviewed and engaged literally dozens of apprentice chefs each year, said that he 'had not the slightest idea' why any boy should want to be a chef. Similarly a housekeeper in charge of a large organisation of chambermaids, when talking about the kind of relationship she had with them, said, 'I don't pry into their personal lives—I don't like to listen to people's troubles—I just haven't got the time'. Another housekeeper, in describing her interviewing method, emphasised that she confined her questions to previous experience and never went further than that because, 'You can't ask for personal details'.

If remoteness results from attitudes such as these, new entrants lack the support necessary to tide them over the difficult *induction period*. For example, in a hotel which had a serious problem with turnover among its kitchen porters, a new entrant was interviewed by the consultants. He was a man who had not been able to establish a family of his own but who had a record of being able to stay with organisations that allowed him to be dependent. He had been, for example, in the Merchant Navy for a number of years and had spent some years working for a club. His was a personality which if properly supported by his employers and colleagues at work could lead to the carrying out of good work, but in this hotel he described with tears running down his cheeks how no one had spoken to him except to shout orders. He knew no one's name in the kitchen and no one bothered to get to know anything about him at all. As soon as he had some money he said he would be off. A few days later he left.

This tendency of managers to refuse to know anything about their staff means that it becomes very difficult for them to distinguish the short-term employee from the long-term. For example, the manager quoted above who said that he had not the slightest idea why boys should become cooks described how he would 'shake in his shoes' at the beginning of each spring because he was worried by how many of these boys would leave; yet he made no attempt to have the kind of career discussion which might have enabled a prediction to be made.

In general, it is impossible not to conclude that the kind of isolation described resulted in a *managerial vacuum* in many of the organisations studied, and that it is a serious contributor to the industry's labour turnover problem. Sometimes managers feel justification for this *abdication* by describing it as delegation. But the distinction is not well drawn and often results in confusion. In fact, when it came to the process of engagement, there was a tendency either for the manager to do this himself with no reference to his departmental heads or to leave everything to the departmental head and not concern himself further with what was going on.

Methods of payment

Certain aspects of the social organisation of the industry are reflected in its methods of payment. As stated earlier the tipping system both expresses and supports a split in managerial authority. It is a further characteristic of the industry that a large part of the remuneration of its employees is obtained from sources other than the orthodox wage packet. The receipt of tips is only

one of these sources—there are others, varying both in kind and in legality. For example, many employees in the industry receive free meals, free accommodation or in some cases free drinks and often their entitlement to these payments in kind is open and accepted without question.

It was constantly emphasised to the consultants by respondents that, because staff in the industry handle consumables and are involved in many cash transactions, there is a long-established tradition of payment in kind which gives rise to acute problems of management control. It was frequently stated that the industry presented opportunities for pilfering and for what were described as *perks* or *fiddles* and that these were probably greater than those in most other kinds of work.

This characteristic of the industry gave rise to anxiety among some respondents. While it was often clearly established that staff are entitled to payments in kind, difficulty arose when employees could obtain various kinds of payment either in cash or in kind. Several times it was said to the consultants that, 'It is a poor waiter who goes hungry', and examples were given of many ways in which food or drink 'left over' by customers or in the kitchens could be acquired for the personal use of employees. Whether these practices were legitimate or merely tolerated by managements was not always clear to staff.

The problems of accountability in an industry such as hotel and catering are not confined to lower grade workers, they exist at managerial level. The consultants were told by managers of several ways in which they could 'manage' on their budgets and sometimes felt compelled to do so, by means or devices that were not open; for example, sales that did not have to go through the cash register. Some managers disliked this aspect of hotel and restaurant work, and would prefer to have had their responsibilities more clearly defined and standards of good practice rigorously laid down and enforced.

There was often a rather unhappy awareness by managements that because of these widespread and traditional ways in which wages may be supplemented by payments in kind that they may be kept too low to attract suitable staff. This thought was expressed in an extreme way by the landlord of a public house who said that 'Wages are low in the industry because managers expect the staff to fiddle'.

During the study relatively few open complaints were made by staff about the level of pay. Occasionally satisfaction was expressed when comparisons were made with friends working in factories or offices. However, the system by which payment was received in cash and in kind from several different sources bred a suspicion among staff that others were getting away with more. For example, there was often little understanding of how a service charge system operated and suspicion that not all the charge collected was distributed to staff.* A number of respondents said that they would prefer a more open and stable system of remuneration.

The lack of regular weekly remuneration was often irksome to staff and this feeling came out in a number of ways. For example, a chambermaid dealt with a suite of rooms hired by an industrial company. An employee of this

* This suspicion may be well founded in some establishments. In a survey carried out by the NEDO in September, 1968, 17 per cent of the hotel and catering establishments replying did not distribute service charges in full to their staff and 86 per cent had no collective agreement with their staff on its distribution (see *Why Tipping?* February 1969, available free from NEDO).

company used to pay £5 a month as a gratuity. Suddenly he left and she received no money from this source for two months. She approached the housekeeper and the hotel manager, but both said that since this was a private arrangement they could do nothing about it. She felt she could not approach the senior executives who used the accommodation and so was at her wits' end to know what to do about a sum of money upon which she had come to rely. She said she would like a constant wage so that she did not have to rely on tips or on the vagaries of a service charge. She said, 'If you haven't got a constant wage you've no security.' What is noticeable too in such circumstances is the effect of the isolation described earlier: she was left to work out this problem on her own and her managers felt themselves powerless to help.

Methods of payment tended to affect married men adversely, particularly if they were raising a family and wanted to live outside the hotel or establishment concerned. These men met difficulties, for example, in getting a mortgage on the kind of payment that could be quoted and accepted by a building society, and in not being able to rely on regular wages. Even those, such as senior waiters, who had carved a niche for themselves in large hotels and expressed satisfaction about the amount of money they had been able to accumulate tended to say, when the topic was explored with them, that they would much prefer a regular wage if they thought there was a chance that it could be high enough to represent a realistic average of what in fact they were now able to obtain.

Cost of labour turnover

The terms of reference of the study required the consultants to attempt to determine the effects of labour turnover on costs for particular types of establishment in the industry and to establish in general terms the cost benefits, i.e. the cost savings less the cost of remedial action, that would result from taking action to reduce labour turnover. Establishing the costs to firms of excessive labour turnover has been a feature of other NEDO studies.*

Cost of leavings

The usual approach to the problem of costing labour turnover concentrates on the leaver and usually attempts to calculate an average cost per leaving based upon factors such as re-training, re-interviewing and re-advertising, which are incurred as a result of employees leaving. By this means costs per leaving can be gradually built up and a number of these have been calculated for different industries. For example, in the study made by the Clothing EDC costs per leaver were given as varying from £145 to £1,220. It is recognised, however, that these are estimates and the conclusion drawn by the document is that the annual cost per employee is unlikely to be less than £30 but may well exceed £200.

Comparatively few managers of hotel and catering establishments interviewed in the study had attempted such a form of costing. In only two instances were specific costs quoted by managers; both were based on the costs of advertising and agency fees and in each case a cost of £10 per separation had been calculated. However, most managers said that while they had not attempted to calculate such a cost they felt that it must be very high.

* *Costing Your Labour Turnover*: Rubber EDC. Free from NEDO.

A Study in Labour Turnover: Food Manufacturing EDC. Free from NEDO.

Labour Turnover: Clothing EDC. Free from NEDO.

Problems of costing labour turnover

A figure of £10 per leaver is almost certainly too low. A realistic costing would have to take account of all the effects of leavings on the establishment concerned. For example, a high rate of leaving results in a greater proportion of management time being spent in training new entrants. The employment of untrained entrants, or entrants left unfamiliar with the requirements of a particular establishment, may reduce sales. In practice, it is difficult to cost the numbers of customers turned away or revenue otherwise lost by an inadequate waiter or an inexperienced barman.

Some managers react to a high rate of labour turnover by putting new entrants straight into the job without testing their potential by careful interviewing. This may have adverse effects on the organisation that are difficult to cost. The consultants were told by many respondents that the experience of working with inadequate colleagues often unsettled otherwise competent staff and several times the expression 'the bad apple in the barrel' was used to describe this situation. One personnel manager responsible for a chain of small restaurants told us that he had often observed that the effect of this was to cause good staff to leave, so that the management was left with only the original 'bad apple'.

Another costing difficulty is that to some extent the actual level of labour turnover depends upon the recording conventions used by the individual manager. One problem which arises is how to define a leaver. A manager, for example, who takes on a student for three weeks during the summer, might say that when the student leaves at the end of his three weeks this should not be defined as a leaving. In an attempt to reduce the actual numerical labour turnover a manager may take on casual workers on a day-to-day basis, in which case no leavers might be recorded. Similarly a worker who is asked to stand down for a few weeks in the winter, while remaining on an hotel's books, is not shown as a leaver. Thus from the practical point of view, while costs per leaving might provide a rough and ready guide, it is sometimes difficult to compare the labour turnover rate of different establishments.

Apart from these practical difficulties confronting any manager attempting to cost his labour turnover, there are two assumptions on which many costings rest which are questionable. First, there is often an implicit assumption that the cost of labour turnover equals, on average, cost per leaving regardless of who leaves and who enters employment. If, for example, an inadequate employee leaves and a better one is taken on then it may be argued that the result is a net gain for the organisation concerned. Secondly, there is a tendency to assume that to have no labour turnover at all would be an ideal cost-less situation. Obviously the extreme situation of the same group of employees simply growing old together would not ensure the most efficient use of the manpower market.

For these and other reasons most of the managers with whom the matter was discussed were sceptical of the validity of costing labour turnover in too precise a way, but felt that excessive labour turnover must be expensive and that the sources of expenditure could be identified even if not precisely measured.

Identifying the costs of labour turnover to the firm

The most helpful and practical approach to costing labour turnover is to identify the areas in which costs are incurred and ways in which they may be reduced.

Short stay leavers. Of the three categories of turnover discussed earlier, referred to as *induction crisis*, *differential transit* and *settled connection*, the rapid leavings that occur in the *induction crisis* as a result of the initial impact between the organisation and its entrants is probably in most cases almost wholly wasteful, both from the point of view of the unit and the employee. Greater care and managerial skill applied both before and after engagement can radically reduce the proportion of these leavings, and the recommendations of the study deal extensively with this category of leaver.

Medium stay leavers. Other categories of labour turnover may be less wasteful. Employees often build up their careers, especially in the early stages, by working in various organisations for limited periods. These employees are often the better workers in the industry. Leavings will result in some expense to managements but this must be balanced against the quality of service given during the period of their stay. It is possible to argue that the net cost of such leavings may be nil because the overall contribution of such periods of service can be advantageous both to the individual unit and to the industry as a whole. Yet many of the managers interviewed appeared to take a short-term view of these employees. For example, one young man who had been the outstanding pupil of his year at a training college wanted a job as a waiter for a year before moving on to other things. Fourteen organisations refused to employ him.

The extent to which managements are prepared to anticipate medium-stay leavings and plan for them can determine whether they are costly and disruptive of good service. The consultants interviewed two restaurateur managers in London, each in charge of a high status restaurant. One was anxious about the coming spring when he realised that many of his waiters would leave, but not how many or which ones; the other had taken steps to find out which members of staff were likely to be moving on at that time, and with the help of his present staff had identified several likely replacements. The latter restaurateur regarded it as a sign of success for his establishment that he was able in this way to attract those who would regard working for him for a period as a qualification that would stand them in good stead for the future.

Long stay leavers. The net turnover of long-stay employees in the phase of *settled connection* is numerically small and of negligible cost. It is often useful for each unit to have a sufficiently high proportion of such employees to provide stability through time.

Manpower planning

From all these considerations emerges the possibility of a firm or establishment working out a manpower planning strategy. While detailed targets would not be the same for every organisation the general aims of manpower planning might be to reduce short stay leavings to less than 20 per cent and to aim for a balance so far as the rest of the staff were concerned between medium and long-stay leavers. Thus an optimum establishment would tend to contain a number of trusted, long-term employees. The function of this hard core would be to ensure the maintenance of standards, to train newcomers, to ensure that operations could be carried on even if excessive leaving occurred, and to allow for a relatively leisureed, rather than a predominantly panicky form of replacement.

It is difficult to generalise about the appropriate size of the hard core because of differences between organisations. However, at extremes it is unlikely



that the hard core should be over eighty per cent or below twenty per cent. If the hard core is too high a proportion of the total staff or too set in its ways, it can tend to increase short-stay turnover by rejecting newcomers. The aim should be to ensure that the hard core are of a higher standard and probably better paid than others of equivalent status, but not that they should become overset in their ways, nor that they should comprise those who are clinging on in an insecure way to a kind of employment that they no longer value. The group of medium-stay employees should be big enough to bring in new blood and at the same time provide a basis of possible recruitment for longer-term stayers. On the whole, one would expect that medium-stay employees would include younger, but relatively dedicated and serious staff.

The cost to the industry as a whole

The main cost of excessive labour turnover to firms or establishments in which there is a constant stream of short stayers, unanticipated leaving of medium stayers and a failure to build up an effective stable core of employees, are those caused by the constant managerial preoccupation with the problem, and the creation of a self-aggravating situation with management becoming increasingly isolated from their staff. The more isolated managers become, the quicker the staff leave; and the quicker the staff leave, the more isolated the management become, until the rather common situation occurs in which managers know very little of what is going on and in a despairing way blame factors outside their control.

As already stated some industry executives interviewed in the study believed that, by and large, high labour turnover tends to go with low profit and vice versa; but there is insufficient data to substantiate this conclusion. However, high labour turnover is not necessarily inconsistent with an individual unit operating with apparent effectiveness and making, in the view of its manager or owner, a satisfactory profit.

Some managers with high labour turnover forcibly expressed the view that since they had no difficulty in finding guests and made a satisfactory profit, why should they worry if their staff stayed with them for only a short time? It was suggested by the consultants that they might make even higher profits if they altered their managerial style or made greater efforts to retain staff; but these managers were in no doubt that they did not believe that such an effort would be effective or, even if effective, that it was worth their while. In order to examine the cost factors posed by such attitudes it seems necessary to consider the situation from the point of view of the industry as a whole, as well as from that of the individual enterprise.

The industry contains many organisations that experience high labour turnover yet employ persons who will stay in hotel and catering work for a significant proportion of their working life. Experience in carrying out the research suggests that labour turnover is predominantly a matter of movement between different establishments within the industry. The effect of this kind of movement is to lower morale in the industry as a whole, to discharge self-respect, to tarnish the industry as a potential employer and to increase difficulties in recruitment.

Senior executives interviewed felt that there would inevitably be a serious manpower crisis within the next ten years as older workers retired and insufficient young people entered the industry. Those interviewed who held such views felt there had to be more scope for staff to improve their perform-

ance and status and that regular reliable remuneration, reflecting skill at the job rather than a facility with tip-getting techniques, was necessary if this were to be achieved. Yet present practices in the industry tend to discourage many potential employees of appropriate education and outlook from joining the industry and so providing the kind of stable core of dedicated employees that is needed for technical advance. Present practices tend also to inhibit the kind of vigorous and self-confident campaign for young recruits which might otherwise be attempted and contributes to a general picture of an industry that lacks self-respect and tends to deal with some of its most important problems by the progressive isolation of its individual members.

This seems all the more unfortunate since, despite obvious employment disadvantages, the hotel and catering industry offers much to employees that other industries do not; for example, many employees do not appear dissatisfied with their remuneration, few complain of boredom (which plagues so many shop-floor industrial jobs) and the opportunities in the industry for variety of work, personal expression and for the development of individual skills compare favourably with other kinds of manual work. Moreover, at managerial level the autonomy of individual establishments offers comparatively high rewards for most young men and women and the opportunity of independent command at a relatively early stage in life.

Entry to and employment in the industry

The point has already been made that work in the industry involves satisfying the personal needs that customers experience during the whole of life. It may be for this reason that decisions to work in the industry are sometimes made early in life.

This seems to apply particularly to cooks and chefs. One cook, for example, explained how while still at school he would come home in the evening and find nobody in. Rather than wait he would cook himself a meal. Later he started making meals for the family. As time went on comments began to be made by relatives and neighbours who would say, at first jokingly, 'Oh, you're going to be a chef, are you?' After a time he stopped thinking of it as a joke and gradually it became accepted that this was where his future lay. A manager, now holding a senior position in the industry, described how he was the oldest of a large family and with his father away during the war he 'had to cater'. This led to his discovering both a satisfaction and a competence in doing so. Again from this early beginning grew the idea of entering the hotel and catering industry.* It may be noted in this connection that cooking and its ancillary functions are one of the few kinds of adult work which, under modern industrial conditions, children can observe and participate in at first hand while they are still hardly out of infancy.

However, it was also often commented by those boys who had chosen the industry early in their lives that they had to put up with much teasing from their fellows at school or in college and that a boy studying domestic science with girls was rather a rarity; but some reported that after a few years their fellows looked upon them with greater respect and confided that they wished they had studied domestic science also. Cooking was considered by all respondents to be a basic craft requiring a positive committal. Nearly all those interviewed had been to college or served a formal apprenticeship.

* Recently the Tavistock Institute have been able to observe this phenomenon in other work on the career decisions of school children.

After college or apprenticeship the pattern often followed was characterised in the early years by a series of periods of work lasting from a few months to a few years during which different types of cooking were learned and experience gradually accumulated. The need to gain such experience from different sources was usually felt to be essential.

The career patterns of waiters showed some similarities to those of chefs. There was the same tendency to have chosen this kind of work relatively early in life, often, though not always, against a family background in which there were hotel and catering connections. Waiting was sometimes seen as a useful stepping stone to a career in hotel management. On the whole, the self-respect of waiters was more precarious than that of cooks and chefs. Waiters were less certain that they possessed a definable and essential skill. Some had chosen waiting as superior and more profitable than working in a factory.

Cooks sometimes referred to waiters as 'beggars in uniform' and only the more dedicated waiters emphasised the distinctive skills concerned. There is an implicit hierarchy in waiting. For example, not all waiters in an establishment advise customers on wines and food. Like cooks, waiters felt the need to move around to gain experience, to have worked in a hotel or restaurant of high reputation was thought to be equivalent to a qualification. However, waiters showed a greater tendency than cooks to move from one job to another.

While the industry contains a high proportion of employees with what may be described as deep roots in hotel and catering work—the consultants were frequently told 'It gets into your blood'—relatively few men with families would recommend their own children to take up such work. The main reasons given were that the industry had failed to keep up with the times, that it made demands upon its employees in terms of hours of work and awkward working conditions that were inconsistent with the development of family life, and that, while other industries had been modifying and changing their working conditions, no parallel movement had taken place in the field of hotel and catering work.

Industrial catering was regarded as an exception to those comments. For example, a head waiter in a country hotel told the consultants that he believed irregular hours of work had contributed to the break-up of his marriage. He said that he would never let any of his family get into the business, at least not in an hotel. On the other hand, he said that industrial catering was completely different and he would be willing to have his son go into this, because normal factory hours were worked and it was possible to have a normal family life. He would certainly not have chosen to work in hotels had he had his time over again.

Moreover, even those who came into the industry already knowing something about it through their parents, described their shock at actual working conditions. One young chef, for example, said, 'When I first came into the industry there were a lot of things I hadn't realised, in spite of the fact that my mother had been in the trade. For example, no one tells you about split shifts, no one tells you that you never have any free time, no one tells you that you can't have any social life and you really have to be dedicated and keen on your work. . . . I don't want to spend all my life working in hotels—I'll go for three years on the continent and perhaps do a bit longer there, but after that I want to go and get a post in teaching. I've thought about this a great deal and decided that being a chef when you're married is very hard if you have to work split shifts. It could break up a marriage—you never see

your wife and children. I've got to stay in catering, but I won't do it directly in a hotel'.

Our publication *Your Manpower* commented on some of the reasons why there is a preponderance of women in the industry, noting that much of hotel and catering work is of a domestic character. The consultants concluded from the interviews that women workers tended to come from a particular kind of background; large families, poverty, and an agrarian economy were common background factors. Such a combination enforces learning of domestic duties and, as the family grows up, a tendency for elder children to have to leave. Girls from such backgrounds who leave home have already learned certain domestic duties and tend also to have the kind of personality that has become dependent upon a large family. They may enter hotel and catering work directly or as was often the case indirectly through private service or nursing.

There were others (not only women) for whom entry to the industry was more personality than craft dominated, in the sense that the attraction the person felt was more to the social milieu in which they worked than to the crafts that they practised. It is possible that work in public houses tends to attract those who fall into this category, though other areas of hotel and catering work tend to be permeated by it. For some people this kind of work seems to represent a creative way of coming to terms with their social needs and problems.

Selection procedures

Many firms and establishments did not have a systematic entry and leaving procedure. Whether or not the entrant was seen by the manager of the establishment, his wife or one of his departmental heads depended a great deal on the chance circumstances of the day that he happened to apply. The nature of hotel and catering work meant that in many instances it was easier for a manager to put someone to work and to see how they make out rather than to take extensive steps beforehand to find out on the basis, for example, of their previous experience whether they can do the job satisfactorily.

The newcomer was often thrown in at the deep end and was left to cope as best he could. The initial high point on the survival curves shown earlier demonstrates how the great majority of those entering individual establishments responded to these initial stresses by leaving. Where selection techniques were used they tended to be cursory and relied heavily upon the applicant's word about his previous experience. Where more developed selection techniques were operated, the number of initial casualties tended to be less because many potentially short-stay applicants were not engaged.

However, many managers claimed that careful selection was impossible. They maintained that under present conditions they have to take whoever they can get and no attempt is made at induction. In a NEDO study of labour turnover in the food manufacturing industry*, the way in which a bad labour turnover problem feeds upon itself and a good one tends to get better, was described as follows:

'When labour turnover begins to fall, i.e., people begin to stay longer, then the whole system begins to have more leisure to consider itself. The foreman, for example, has more time to interview, selection becomes better—this means that there are fewer leavers. More time can be spent with stayers, so

* *A Study of Labour Turnover* (free from NEDO).

leaving is further inhibited and the whole process slows down and greater job satisfaction develops for both the stayers and the foreman. There is more opportunity for each to get to know the other, for the foreman to command a stable team and to concern himself with individual progress within that team. Thus a different kind of managerial job begins to take shape and the foreman discovers the satisfaction of getting the best out of the team that he progressively comes to know as individuals.

By contrast, when labour turnover begins to rise, i.e., the length of stay to shorten, then since there are more leavings, selection standards tend to be lowered. Initial interviews become more perfunctory. The foreman may feel that he has not time to carry out initial interviews even if he is allowed to do so. Personnel interviewers tend to become more despairing in their attempts to obtain recruits. The foreman feels less committed to new applicants. He has to tolerate the implicit hostility of a work force that is constantly rejecting him and feels unwilling to take pains to get to know his workers better as people if the result is to experience the discomfort of losing them. So the opportunities to prevent leaving are not taken and consequently leavings rise still further and the process gets worse. Moreover, everyone gets so busy with the task of taking on people that they feel increasingly that they have no time to take remedial action and stop the flow of leavers. Colloquial or mutual scapegoating tends to develop; personnel may blame foremen or foremen blame personnel or, more usually, both say, "what can you do with the class of labour we get at the moment?"

Thus a bad labour turnover situation has a tendency to accelerate and probably does so until it reaches the level which is chronic, which may apply to a whole factory or to certain departments within the factory, and firm action is needed to intercept such an accelerating process. It may be noted that by this time all the forces are set up against such an interception since it means forcibly slowing down a response to a production situation which seems to demand ever quicker responses. If, however, a chronic worsening is not to develop the foreman must spend more time with stayers and more time interviewing entrants. Personnel must seek more applicants and interview them more carefully at a time when, as it noted, they may be under heavy pressure to lower standards and fill jobs more quickly. Thus effective interception may mean more interviews or small commands or both.

These comments are applicable to the hotel and catering industry. Because managers tend to be isolated from their staff, the staff leave more rapidly than they would otherwise. When staff leave rapidly the reputation of the hotel as



an employer gets worse. The whole organisation gradually accommodates itself to a labour turnover of between perhaps one hundred and two hundred per cent.

This self-aggravating situation will be ameliorated by more careful interviewing, selection and induction; but as has been argued earlier these are only some of the factors involved in improving the retention of staff which can alone ease the pressures on recruitment in the long term.

The problem of change

It was concluded earlier that the stresses involved in carrying out the primary tasks of the industry often lead to the isolation of those bearing the stresses. Consequently, forms of social organisation are developed with an inherent tendency to high labour turnover and frequent leavings become the accepted method of relieving tension.

Several fundamental questions are raised by this conclusion. It may be asked, for example, whether it is possible, in view of the nature of hotel and restaurant work, for managers to maintain an appropriate distance from guests and yet establish closer, more integrated staff relationships. In some establishments a closer integration seemed to exist and a lower level of labour turnover was experienced. A further pertinent comparison arises with industrial and institutional catering establishments. It was frequently stated in interviews that those who drifted from hotels and restaurants into industrial and institutional catering did so because of the added stability and greater chance of making more permanent relationships.

Moreover, from the few instances where a comparison could be made it appeared that the level of effective managerial concern about labour turnover was in inverse proportion to its statistical level. Thus, in one industrial canteen visited the manager believed that his level of turnover was about 10 per cent. On exploring the figures it proved to be 28 per cent—actually the lowest level found. However, it was striking that this fact brought no reassurance to the management group concerned who proceeded to examine the figures and discuss them with manifest responsibility and concern. They began to criticise themselves and to wonder whether there was anything they might do to improve the situation. One said, 'I think we don't make new people feel at home enough. We just stick them in here and then go away and get on with our work'. This attitude contrasted with that of some managers of establishments with high labour turnover.

A further fundamental question is the extent to which the kind of techniques at present being operated in industrial catering might be applicable to non-industrial units. Some managers, both young and old, firmly believed that the industry would have to move in this direction in the future and that the kind of techniques that had been developed in relation to mass catering could and must be applied on the smaller scale, even if this meant retraining both customers and staff. Those who held this view complained of the conservatism of the industry.

However, changes of this kind are not only or mainly technological; they would involve modifications in predominant and strongly held attitudes and the behaviour of many in the industry. The attitudes revealed in the study will be difficult to change. One senior executive concerned about the obstacles to change said he believed that the greatest hope lay with the training colleges in turning out a new generation of recruits to the industry.

6 Recommendations

There are a number of steps that can be taken to reduce the high rate of labour turnover in the hotel and catering industry. Some of these steps must be taken by individual firms and establishments, while others require action by the industry as a whole.

Action by the firm or establishment

For the individual firm or establishment there are two main areas in which action can be taken—relations between management and staff, and the recording of labour turnover.

Relations with staff

The study findings support the view that there is a *management style* that tends to attract and retain entrants. This style reflects a relationship between management and staff in which each employee is allowed to get on with the job by himself, but at the same time is not given the feeling of being isolated and abandoned to cope as best he may in situations when he needs support. Implicit in such a concept is that managers:

- (a) Know enough about the individual members of their staff and the conditions under which they work to be able to make judgements about the stresses to which they are subject.
- (b) Set aside time for regular discussion with staff to review their progress. In a larger firm this should be supplemented by meetings between the manager and departmental head to discuss staffing.
- (c) Pay particular attention to the first few days and weeks of an entrant's service, with daily contact in the initial period for discussion of problems.
- (d) Accept responsibility for the development and control of recruitment procedures, for maintaining contact with sources of labour supply and for developing interviewing techniques.
- (e) Ensure that the system of staff payment is known and understood by all concerned and can be seen to be scrupulously fair. There are benefits to be gained in this respect by firms and employees in moving away from systems of payment that rely on customers' tips for a large part of employee remuneration.

Recording labour turnover

Starters' and leavers' book

Many establishments would benefit from recording and analysing their labour turnover. Most of the data needed for calculating the three measures of labour turnover proposed in this study are already available because they are required for statutory purposes. The information should be brought together in a form

which can be analysed. The easiest method of doing this is to keep a starters' book and a leavers' book.

Starters' book. A layout of page from the starters' book is illustrated below by a theoretical example.

Name	Sex	Job	FT/PT	Department	Date started	Date left	Period of stay (use code*)
Spencer	M	Porter	F/T	Kitchen	13.5.68	17.5.68	1
Cranmer	M	Stillroom	F/T	Kitchen	13.5.68		
Davies	M	Waiter	F/T	Service	13.5.68	20.6.68	1
Smith J.	M	Porter	F/T	Kitchen	20.5.68	21.9.68	2
Early	F	Reception	P/T	Reception/ Porter	20.5.68		
Baker	F	Waitress	F/T	Service	24.5.68		
Giddy	M	Porter	P/T	Reception/ Porter	24.5.68		
Hancock	F	Waitress	P/T	Service	27.5.68	3.7.68	1
Littleworth	F	Waitress	F/T	Service	24.6.68	21.7.68	1
Jones	M	Gen. Main- tenance	P/T	House- keeping	24.6.68	12.9.68	2
Kaplin	M	Cook	F/T	Kitchen	1.7.68		

*The code numbers represent three-monthly periods.

It can be seen from this illustration that a record is kept of the names of staff with the dates they commenced work with the establishment, their sex, their job, whether they are full- or part-time and their department of entry where relevant (eg in the larger organisation). All employees should be listed in the starters' book.

The length of time that each employee has been with the establishment can be worked out from these records and the percentage of total staff who have been employed for less than one year, two years, and for any longer period thought useful. These percentages should be worked out at least once a year.

Leavers' book. A layout of a page from a leavers' book is illustrated below.

Name	Date started	Date left
Owens	4.12.67	13.3.68
Clark	4.2.67	10.5.68
Penn	1.4.68	10.5.68
Kent	18.3.68	12.5.68
Spencer	13.5.68	17.5.68
Broker	9.12.67	25.5.68
Davies	13.5.68	20.6.68
Hancock	27.5.68	3.7.68
Littleworth	24.6.68	21.7.68
Jones	24.6.68	12.9.68
Smith	20.5.68	21.9.68

When an employee leaves, two operations are performed: first the person's name is entered in the leavers' book with his date of leaving and then, referring to the starters' book, his length of stay is calculated and recorded opposite his name in the starters' book.

Using the data to measure labour turnover

All the information required for measuring labour turnover can be obtained from the starters' and leavers' books.

The *labour turnover rate* can be calculated by adding up from the leavers' book the number of leavers in a given time period and expressing this number as a percentage of the average number employed during the same period. In small establishments, where the number of leavers will not be very great, the labour turnover rate usually need be calculated only once a year, the average number employed being obtained by averaging the total number of employees at the end of each quarter during the year. In larger organisations (employing say a hundred or more staff) the labour turnover rate is most usefully calculated each month.

A *survival curve* or bar chart can be prepared from data obtained from the starters' book. One year after the book is opened, the number of entrants joining the organisation in that year should be added and the information recorded, preferably in the same book. Thirteen weeks later, the number of entrants leaving before completing thirteen weeks of service should be added and expressed as a percentage of the original year's entrants. This percentage figure will be the first point on the curve. Thirteen weeks after this the second point can be derived by calculating the proportion of the original entrant group who completed thirteen weeks service but who did not complete twenty-six weeks, and so on (for a graphical illustration of this procedure, see Appendix 1).

For all organisations three figures should be recorded, namely the percentage of entrants in the given year who left within their first thirteen weeks of service, the percentage who left in their first year of service and the percentage who left in their first two years of service. These three calculations should also be made in respect of the entrants joining in successive years from the date of initiating the starters' and leavers' books: the figures will show the extent to which units are becoming more or less successful in retaining their entrants.

Larger organisations will find it possible in addition to this to make these calculations on the basis of entrants who join the organisation for periods shorter in duration than a year. The figures can then be used as a more sensitive managerial control mechanism. These larger organisations may also find it feasible to sub-divide the figures regularly on the basis of sex, occupation and number of hours worked.

Seasonality presents special problems. When the establishment is open all the year round no modification to the method described above is necessary, though it would assist interpretation of the figures if staff taken on explicitly for the season could be identified. This might be done by showing the numbers of seasonal workers in brackets against each of the main calculations.

If the unit closes completely for part of the year, modifications are necessary to the method. The length of service distribution would not need to be calculated. The labour turnover rate can be worked out by totalling the leavers during the season and expressing this figure as a percentage of the average number employed during this time. The first point on the survival curve should

be based not upon a year's entrants but on the total number of staff employed at the start of the season. In practice, further modifications may be necessary to meet the variety of circumstances that will be found to exist.

Considerable care has to be exercised in interpreting labour turnover figures when comparing different seasonal establishments of this kind, because of their different staffing practices.

Supplementary information

In addition to the starters' and leavers' books, firms will also find it useful to keep certain supplementary information in order to help them understand their labour turnover trends. Such supplementary information can be kept in the form of personnel cards or other convenient devices and should record, in addition to the data in the starters' and leavers' books, the employees' age, marital status, summary of previous history, impressions from initial interviews, notes on career discussions and on job performance, etc. The form in which such information is kept need not be standard throughout the industry but is probably best developed by both individual establishments and firms in the light of their own circumstances and management practices.

Action at an industry level

Encouraging change

If the labour turnover problem is to be tackled effectively, vigorous and sustained action will have to be taken at a national level to encourage the necessary changes in attitudes and practices. Much will depend on the power of the industry's organisations in developing a climate for change, on the more progressive firms in setting an example for others to follow, and on the trade press and hotel journals in publicising the problems and the way they are being tackled.

Recruitment

Development along these lines could in turn lead to an industry-wide attempt at a recruitment policy. It is apparent that the industry has advantages and opportunities to offer that are not shared by other industries and that there are many people at present outside the industry who could usefully be attracted to it given the right approach. The main requirements are the development of standards of managerial organisation and the production of a prospectus that gives an honest appraisal of what the industry has to offer, without glossing over the less-attractive aspects of the work.

Training

Finally, it must be recognised that the changes recommended in the study will not be universally welcomed in the industry. Some managers will find their acceptance psychologically difficult while others will be inclined to shrug the problem off as being of little practical significance. Some managers might be helped by formal instruction in the procedural and human relations aspects of personnel management and by the kind of training in which groups of people have opportunities to study their own motivations.

Appendix 1 A guide to survival curves

A survival curve is a method of showing how successful a unit is in retaining its entrants. A curve can be built up as shown below.

Suppose 100 people join the staff of an hotel in the course of one year and 60 of them leave the hotel before they have spent three months in it, this fact can be drawn as in Chart 6.

Of the original 100, 40 now remain. If 15 of these 40 leave before they have completed six months' service, a second point can be drawn between the two axis showing the fact that at six months (read off 6 on the horizontal axis) 15 more people have left (read off 15 on the vertical axis). This is shown on Chart 7.

Then after six months' service only 25 of the original entrants remain. We can go on to find out how many of those left before they had completed nine months' service, and of those who were still there after nine months, how many left before they had completed a year and so on at quarter-yearly intervals. After two years the chart will look something like Chart 8.

A curve can be fitted to all the points as in Chart 9. The curve can be fitted by eye or mathematically*. The bigger the number of entrants the smoother this curve will be. A curve like this can be drawn for any fair-sized unit for any year and by inspecting the curves of different units we can see not only how successful they were in retaining their entrants but also the period when most entrants left. It will usually be found that most entrants leave soon after joining. It will also be found that some units are better than others in getting people through this first difficult period.

In terms of numbers the labour turnover problem is mainly a problem of the short-term stayer. The survival curve shows how big a problem this is in any unit. The survival curve is the best method of showing labour turnover over a one- or two-yearly period.

Over the course of time, a unit may become better or worse in retaining its entrants and survival curves drawn from successive yearly entrant groups will show the rate at which it is improving or getting worse. A survival curve is a useful control measure for a manager and will tell him if any changes he brings about in his organisation are successful or unsuccessful in retaining entrants.

* The method of fitting a curve by mathematical calculation is explained in several text books on statistics, one of which is *An Introduction to the Theory of Statistics* by G Udny Yule and M G Kendall, published by Griffin and Co, 14th edition 1958.

How to construct a survival curve.

Chart 6

% of total entrants leaving

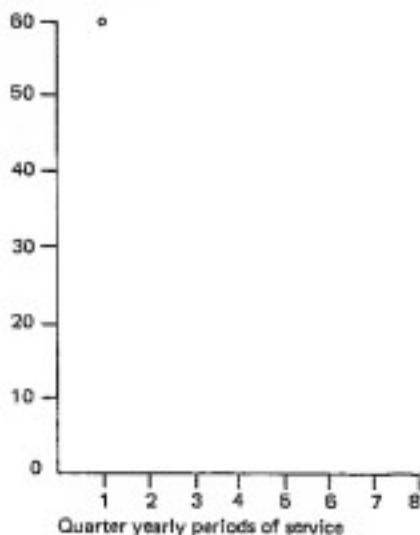


Chart 7

% of total entrants leaving

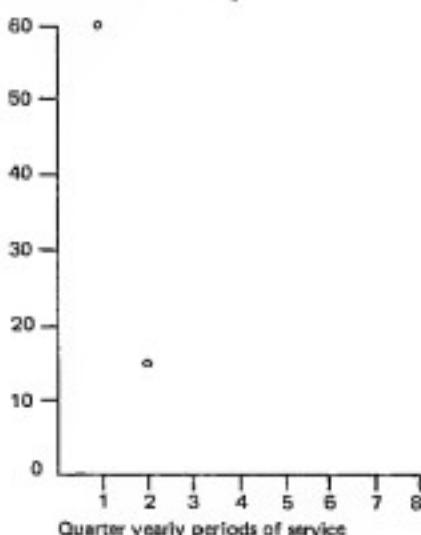


Chart 8

% of total entrants leaving

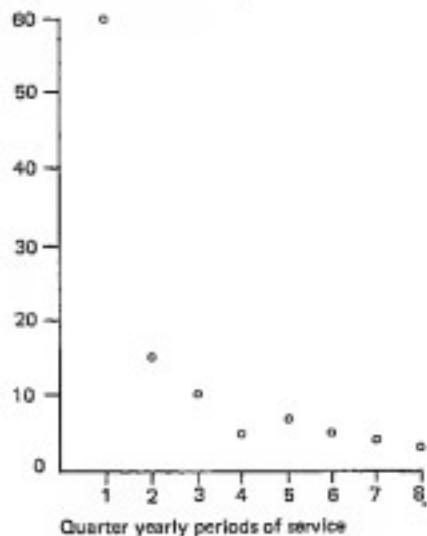
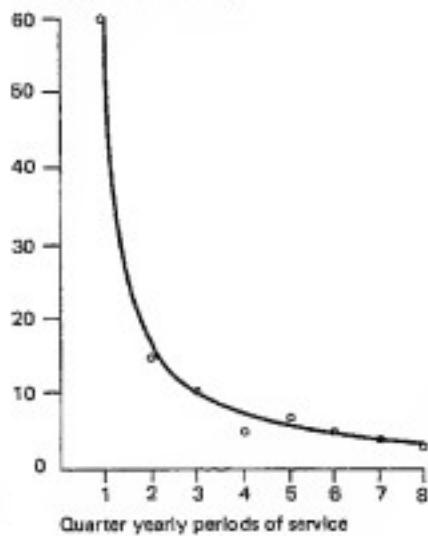


Chart 9

% of total entrants leaving



Appendix 2 Statistical data

Rate of leaving

The statistical data collected in the enquiry are presented below in the form of survival curves to illustrate the rate of leaving of new entrants over two years and bar charts to illustrate the rate of leaving in the first thirteen weeks. Data are shown for three hotels, three small establishments and three industrial canteens.

Chart 10—Unit 33 Total entrants in 1964: 122

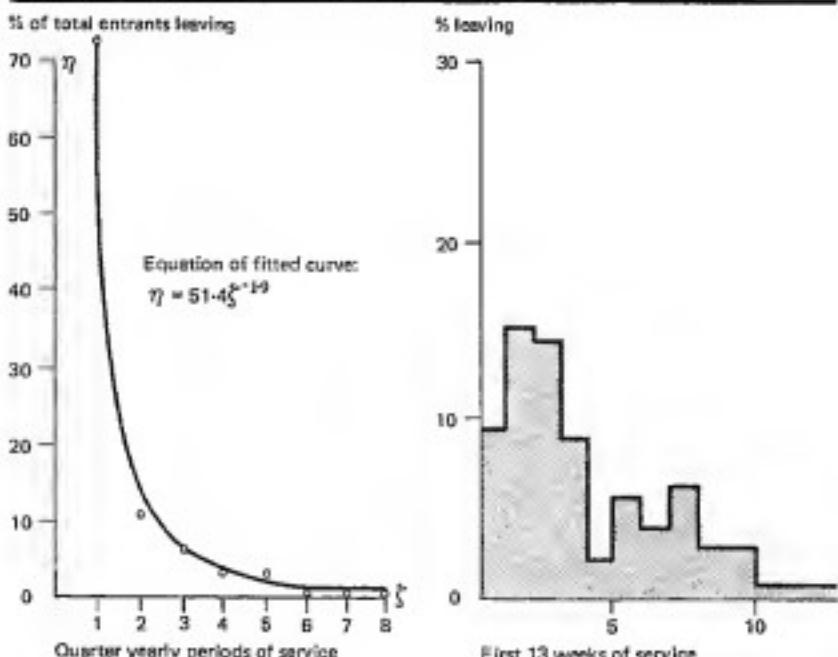


Chart 11—Unit 27 Total entrants in 1964: 61

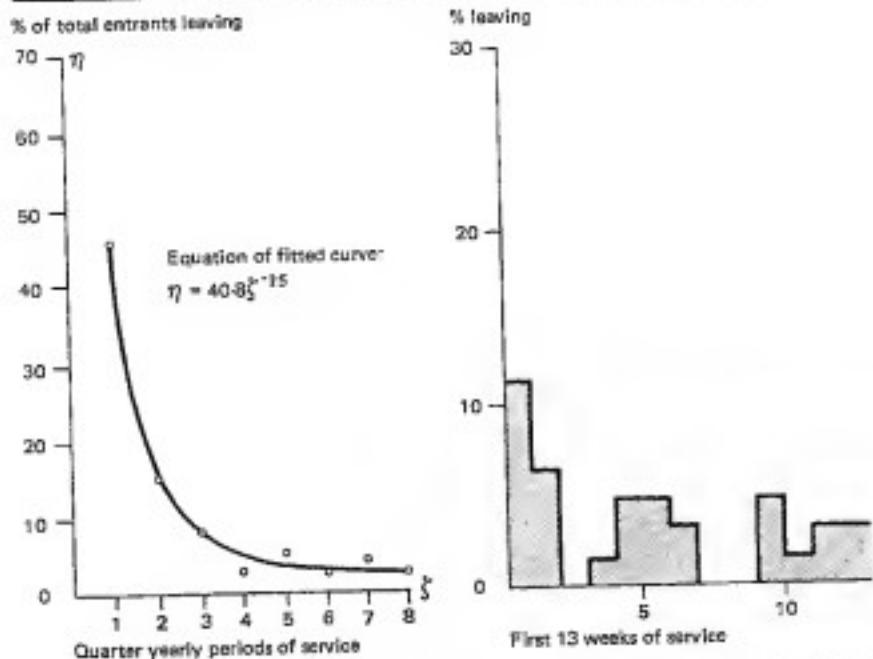


Chart 12—Unit 7 Total entrants in 1964: 113

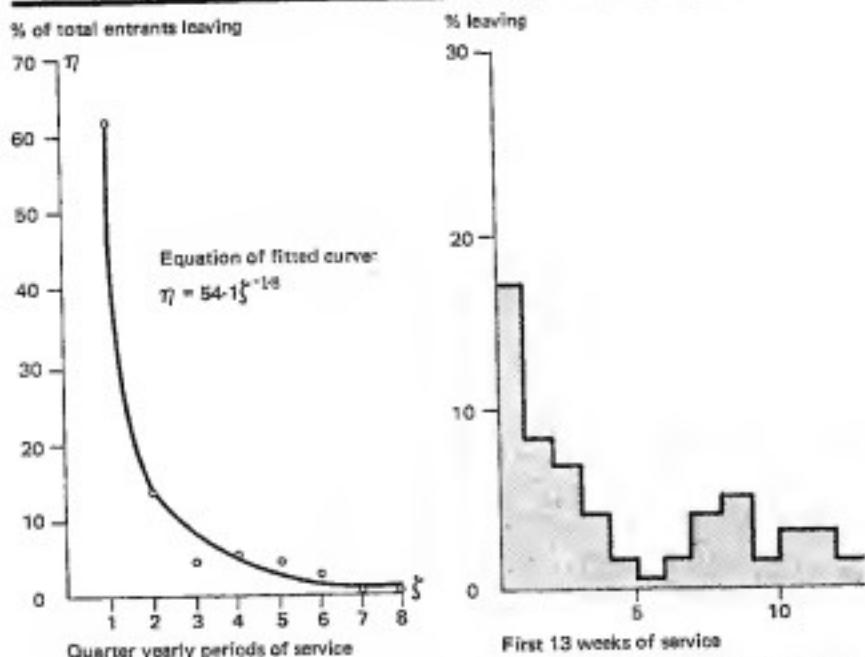


Chart 13—Unit 32 Total entrants in 1965: 41

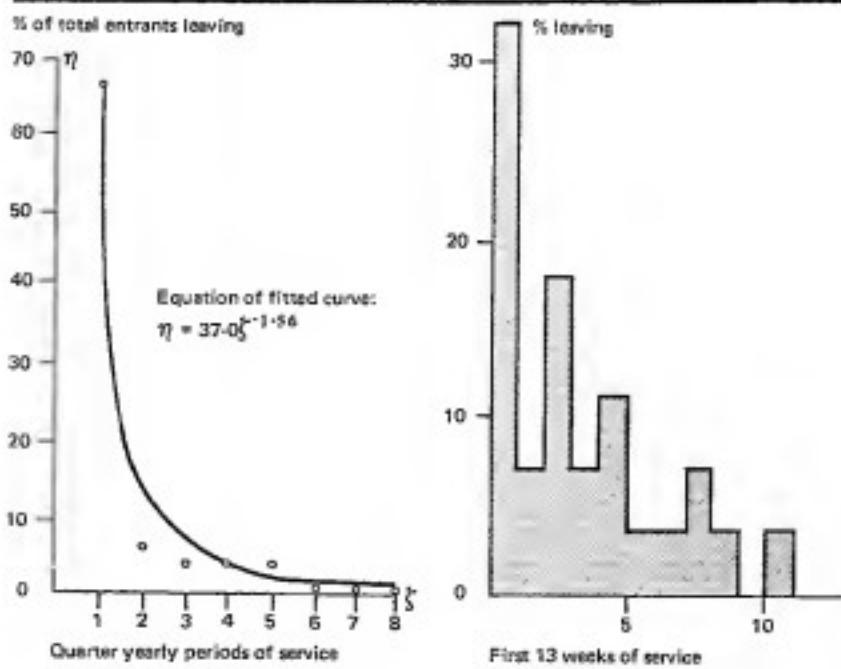


Chart 14—Unit 25 Total entrants in 1964: 28

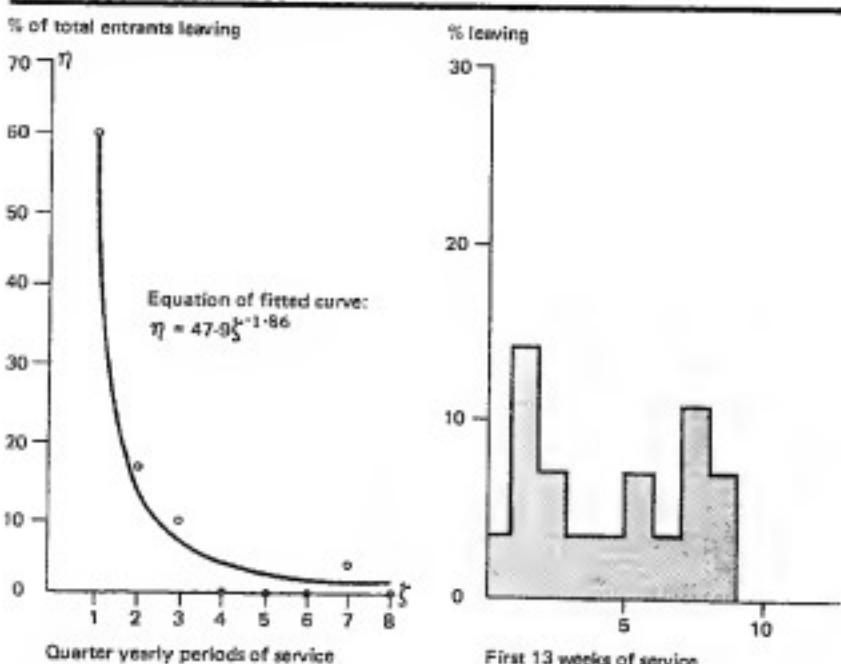


Chart 15—Unit 10 Total entrants in 1964: 29

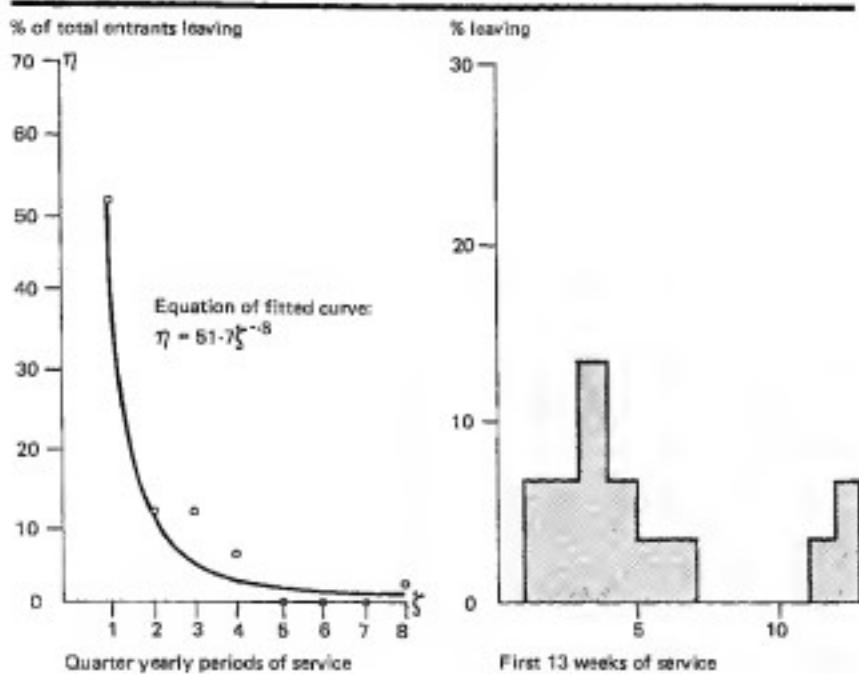


Chart 16—Unit 8 Total entrants in 1966: 64

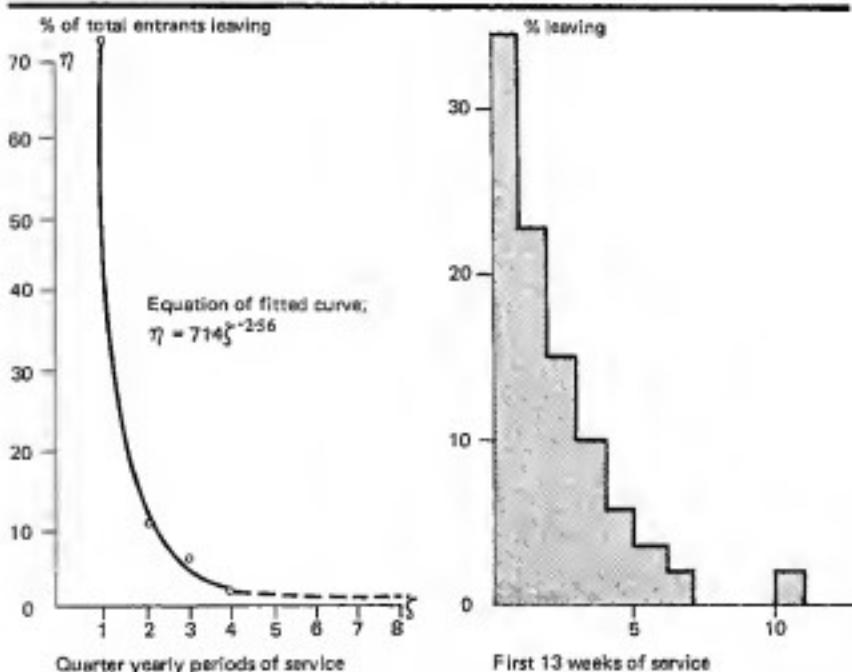


Chart 17—Unit 12 Total entrants in 1964-65: 34

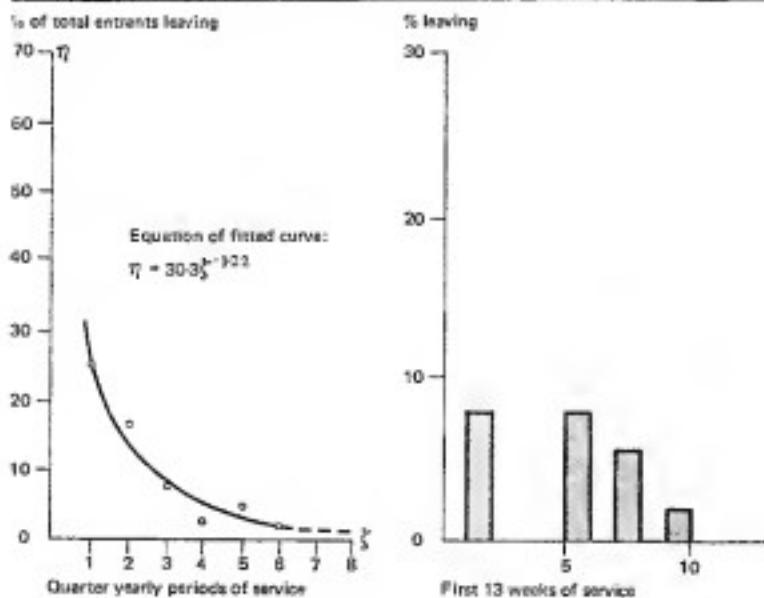
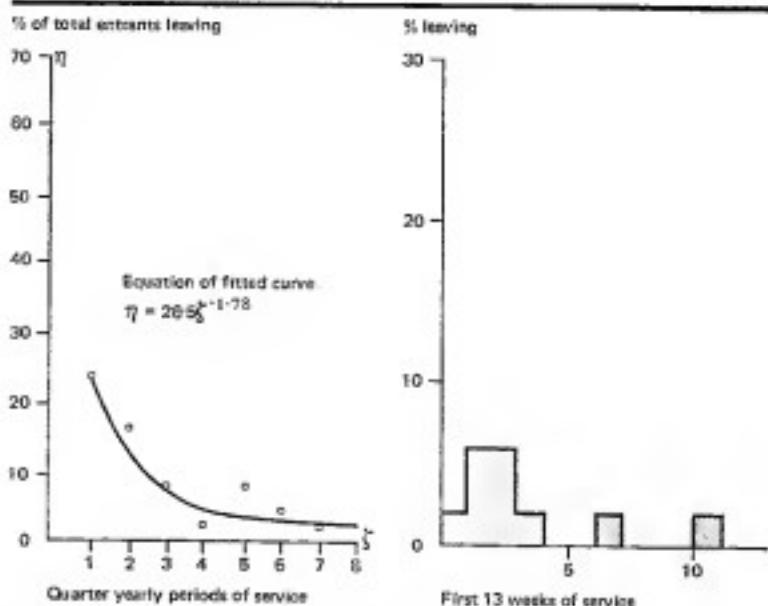


Chart 18—Unit 17 Total entrants in 1964: 47



Length of service of current staff

Data collected on the length of service of current staff are shown in Table 13 and Table 14. This data can also be shown on bar charts. Charts 19 to 22 show the information from the tables on Units 7, 17, 27 and 11.

Table 13 Quarterly analysis of staff in first year of service

Unit no	Category	Total no of staff	% of total staff in each quarter of service			
			1st	2nd	3rd	4th
3	Hotel	49	14	18	10	12
6	Snack bar	24	38	13	—	4
7	Hotel	91	19	11	7	6
8	Canteen	36	3	31	6	6
10	Restaurant	23	39	—	13	4
11	Hotel	68	13	12	7	7
12	Canteen	48	—	2	8	6
14	Hotel	1,000+	15	13	4	6
17	Canteen	98	4	5	4	5
20	Hotel	106	40	7	9	6
22	Hotel	45	9	16	9	—
26	Hotel	27	15	19	25	7
27	Hotel	58	—	10	10	12
30	Public house	14	43	14	28	—
32	Public house	14	7	28	7	14
33	Hotel	32	6	16	22	12

Table 14 Analysis of number of years of service

Unit no	Category	Total no of staff	Percentage of total staff in each year of service									
			1*	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
3	Hotel	49	54	20	14	—	2	2	2	2	—	—
6	Snack bar	24	54	29	17	Opened 3 years ago						
7	Hotel	91	42	13	11	4	3	1	3	7	1	2
8	Canteen	36	45	14	8	33	Opened 4 years ago					
10	Restaurant	23	57	17	4	13	4	—	—	—	4	Opened 9 yrs
11	Hotel	68	40	27	9	6	7	2	2	6	—	—
12	Canteen	48	17	4	19	17	4	13	8	2	4	—
14	Hotel	1,000+	38	12	8	5	3	3	3	2	2	3
17	Canteen	98	18	9	5	6	2	3	9	6	3	7
20	Hotel	106	61	6	5	4	3	4	2	2	4	1
22	Hotel	45	33	20	13	33	Opened 4 years ago					
26	Hotel	27	66	15	4	—	7	4	—	—	—	4
27	Hotel	58	33	22	9	9	7	2	—	2	3	12
30	Public house	14	86	7	7	Opened 3 years ago						
32	Public house	14	57	14	28	Opened 3 years ago						
33	Hotel	32	56	16	9	3	—	3	6	3	—	—

*The numbers 1, 2, 3, 4, etc, refer to those in their first, second, third, fourth, etc, years of service.

Chart 19—Unit 7

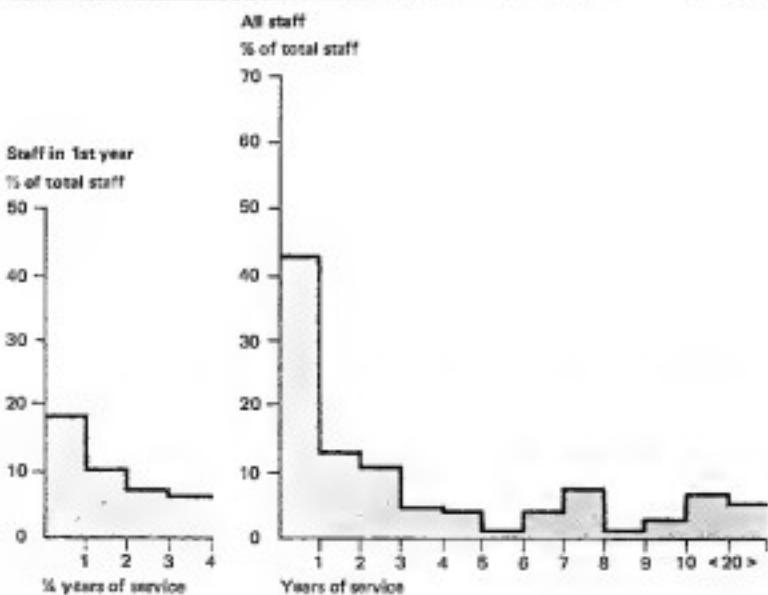


Chart 20—Unit 17

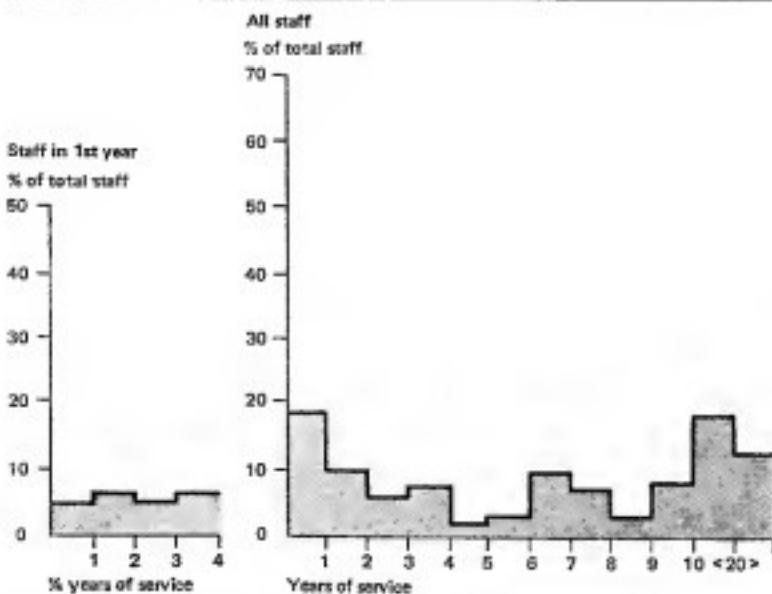


Chart 21—Unit 27

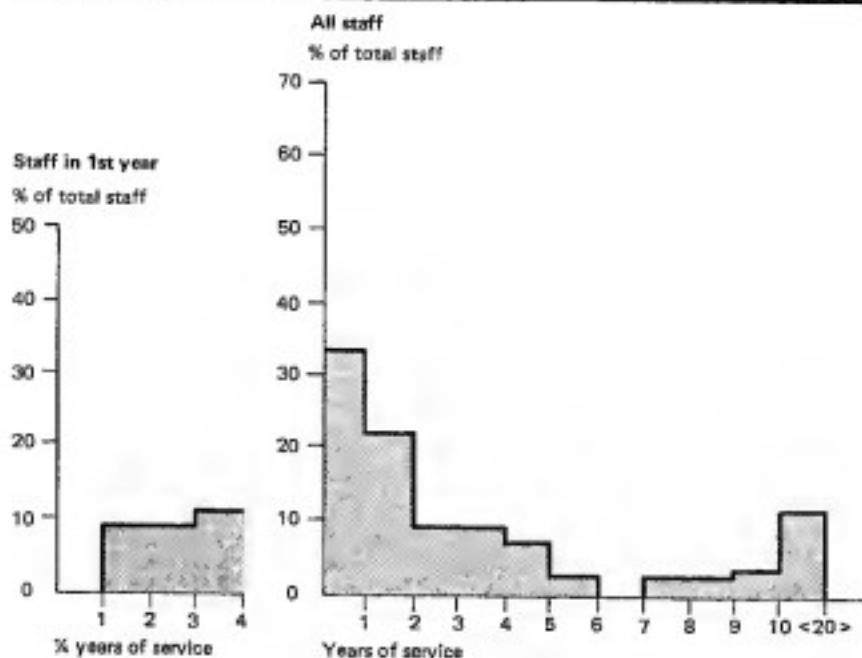
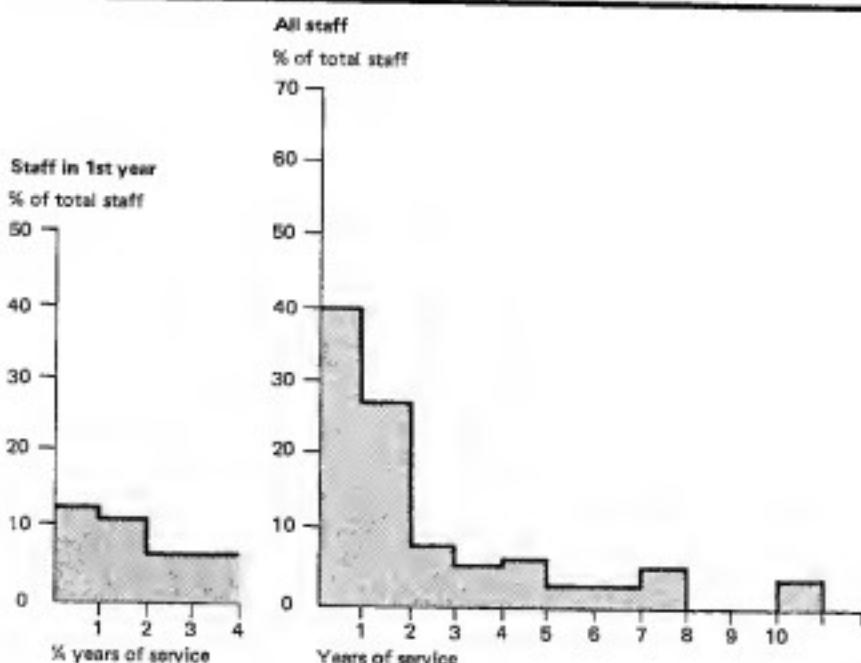


Chart 22—Unit 11



Statistical treatments of part-timers

Very few units provided sufficient information for the satisfactory identification of all the part-time staff. Where part-timers were identified their particulars were recorded separately from the full-time staff. However, for the sake of (1) the survival data, (2) orthodox labour turnover figures, and (3) length of service distribution, the full-time and part-time staff were added together.

The total number of part-time staff appearing in the data tables is very small and in most units it did not exceed 10 per cent of the total number of entrants, leavers or staff. There is no evidence that part-time staff differed significantly in their behaviour from full-time staff. Where there were sufficient numbers of part-time staff to compare their behaviour with the full-time staff from the same unit the results were remarkably similar. This is illustrated by Table 15.

Table 15 Survival data for Unit 14

No of entrants	% leaving in successive quarterly periods of service								% Remaining more than 2 years
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Part-time staff	46	39	20	20	4	7	—	2	2
Full-time staff	837	42	19	11	6	3	3	3	11
All staff	883	42	19	12	7	4	3	3	11

Appendix 3 Information on respondents interviewed

This appendix contains information on the respondents who were interviewed by the consultants. Table 16 gives a breakdown by sex and occupation. Table 17 shows the age groups, and length of service in their present establishment is given in Table 18.

So far as the length of time respondents had spent in the industry (as opposed to the individual establishment) is concerned, 30 had spent less than a year, 61 had spent one year or over but less than 10 years, 40 had spent 10 years and over but less than 20 years, and 54 respondents had spent 20 years and over in the industry.

Table 16 Sex and occupation

Function	Men	Women	Total
Personnel and divisional managers	3	2	5
Overall managers, owners and tenants	29	1	30
Supervisors, department heads, etc	18	14	32
Waiters, waitresses, barmen and barmaids	27	21	48
Chambermaids, housemaids, etc	—	19	19
Chefs, cooks and ancillary kitchen workers	41	14	55
Luggage and hall porters	7	—	7
Receptionists and cashiers	—	7	7
Others	10	4	14
Total	135	82	217

Table 17 Age group

—20 years	20-29 years	30-39 years	40-49 years	50-59 years	60+ years	Not elicited	Total
27	43	32	43	42	11	19	217

Table 18 Length of service

Length of service	No of respondents
1 week or less	11
More than 1 week, up to and including 13 weeks	42
More than 13 weeks, up to and including 1 year	31
More than 1 year, up to and including 2 years	29
More than 2 years, up to and including 5 years	31
More than 5 years, up to and including 10 years	27
More than 10 years, up to and including 20 years	16
More than 20 years	9
Not applicable or not elicited	21
Total	217

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